Shāhnāma Munawwar Kalām

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By

Shiv Dās Lakhnawi

Translated into English

(with an Introduction and exhaustive footnotes)

By

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CONTENTS

Foreword *vii*

Abbreviations *x*

Introduction *xi*

Shāhnāma Munawwar Kalām 1

Sources and Authorities (Footnotes) 214

Index 217

FOREWORD

The *Shahnama Munawwar Kalam* written by Shiv Das Lakhnawi covers the most vital period of India's contemporary political history when the Mughal Empire was disintegrating. It covers the period from the reign of Emperor Farrukhsiyar to the fourth regnal year of Emperor Muhammad Shah and also furnishes us with vivid account of rise and fall of the Sayyid Brothers, better known to the students of Indian history as the 'King-makers'. This is one of the important historical works that are being annotated and published by the Indian Council for Historical Research.

The *Shahnama* is a monumental work as it gives to readers a unique collection of 124 *waqai*, 20 offical letters and 22 imperial *farmans* which has no parallel elsewhere in any singular attempt Undoubtedly the bunch of these official documents apart from political movements and activities throw a flood of light on the socio-economic conditions in the Indian subcontinent and provide us a clear picture of the downfall of the great Empire which continued to be treated as the *de jure* kingdom even for another century and four decades.

The aforesaid copies of the official documents of an Empire which was called the "Paper Government" have an importance of their own as many a record of the Mughal Government perished in numerous wars of succession The documents covered by the *Shahnama* are the source material of the most contentious period and fill some very important gaps of 18th century Indian history. The book itself is full of colourful account and events of festivities on various occasions like

accessions to throne, performance of nuptials, life at the Court, reviews of animals, enjoyments, dances and music in festivals. It helps us in understanding the character of six Emperors, their *mansabdars*, courtiers, *persona grata* and even the masses and as such is full of political and cultural interest.

The author who was in the employment of some person of of high rank has also narrated his eye account of military activities by referring to the movements of the artillery, sieges and conduct of negotiating war and peace in those turbulous times

Imprints of *asmani* and *sultani* events could not escape the eye of Shiv Das who portraits the panorama of famines, droughts and man-made calamities like hoarding, profiteering and soaring prices of essential commodities By denouncing the deeds of Sayyid Brothers and passing remarks on the attitude of the ladies of the *haram*, he helps us in understanding the political trend of the time.

We are indebted to Professor S H. Askari, an eminent historian who has rendered not only the translation of this work from Persian but has also added 280 exhaustive footnotes and an Introduction to the book However, some points eleborated in the Introduction do not necessarily reflect the views of the Council.

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Indian Council of Historical Research,
New Delhi.

TRANSLITERATION

ا	a	ص	ṣ
ب	b	ض	ẓ
پ	p	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ٹ	ṭ	ع	ʻ
ث	s̤	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
چ	ch	ق	q
ح	ḥ	ک	k
خ	kh	گ	g
د	d	ل	l
ذ	ẕ	م	m
ڈ	ḍ	ن	n
ر	r	و	w
ز	z	ہ	h
ژ	z̤	ء	'
س	s	ی	ya
ش	sh		

Vowels used:

a
ā
i , e
u
ū
ī , ē [as in shir (شیر) and in sher شیر

Short Vowels:
a, e, i, u

Long Vowels:
ā, ī, ū, ē,

where the Arabic conjunction "ul" is used, it is transliterated as under .

Tashrīhu l - Aqwām
Dāru' l - Salṭanat

ETC ETC

ABBREVIATIONS

B M.,	*Bahru'l Mauwāj*, by Muhammad 'Alī Khān, O P L ms copy
C.H.I,	*Cambridge History of India*, vols III and IV.
I M.,	*'Ibrat Maqāl*,' by Muhammad Qāsim Lāhorī, O.P L ms copy
I N K,	*'Ibrat Nāma* by Kāmrāj bin Nainsukh, Photo-copy, K P Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna
I N M,	*'Ibrat Nāma* by Mirzā Muhammad, O P L ms copy
J A.S B,	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
K A,	*Khizāna-i-'Amirah* by Ghulām 'Ālī Āzād
L M.,	*Later Mughals*, by william Irvine, vols I-II Calcutta, 1922.
M L,	*Muntakhabu'l Lubāb*, by Khāfi Khān O P L ms copy
M U,	*Ma'asiru'l Umarā*, by Shāhnawāz Khān O P L ms. copy
N Z.,	*Nādiru'z Zamāni*, by Khushhāl Chand, Photo-copy, K.P J. Research Institute, Patna
M.S.,	*Siyāru'l Muta'akhkhirin*, by Ghulam Husain Khān Ṭabataba'ī.
T.M,	*Tārikh-i-Muzaffari*, by Muhammad 'Alī Ansārī, O.P L ms. copy.
T.S.C.,	*Tazkira-i-Salātin-i-Chaghtāiyah*, by Kāmwar Khān O.P L. ms copy.
T.S F.,	*Tazkira-i-Shahādat-i-Farrukhsiyar wa Julūs Muhammad Shāh*, by Āshūb, O.P.L. ms. copy.

INTRODUCTION

To some it may seem paradoxical that the Indian culture, one of the oldest in the world, and a country justly proud for its highly intellectual and creative traditions and rich contributions to a varied field and to practically all the branches of learning, arts, science and literature should fail to provide the posterity, till the advent of the Muslims, with records of real episodes and of personalities of the past and of historical thought and scholarship While some have tried to explain and account for the attitude of indifference to the historical events and the neglect of the study of history by the Hindus by saying that it was due to the excessive stress they laid on spirituality, others have taken pains to dispel what they consider as an illusion of paradox, that old Indian literature has little or no sense of history. They refer to the topics of historiography displayed in various ways in ancient Indian literature at different periods and say that the list of kings, of dynastic genealogies, preserved in Puranic literature, and allusive references to places, persons, political and cultural figures, events and episodes of importance, found in works of drama and religion show a tendency towards an approach and approximation to formal history. Ancient Sanskrit literature may not be devoid of raw materials of history, and coins and inscriptions and certain references in literary and religious works do actually furnish valuable data for the reconstruction of the past. But even after great research, history, as understood even in its modest sense as a chronicle of events with an eye to objectivity, has not been in evidence till the end of the ancient period, and real writing of history came up only after the assumption of power in India by the Muslims. Referring to the *Rajatrangini*, even such a careful scholar as A.L Basham, says that it is the only attempt at true history in the whole surviving Sanskrit literature and some of the account is not history in the accepted sense of the term. We may presume, though there is no definite evidence that the celebrated 12fth century Kashmiri Pandit had some association with those who had a strong sense of history. But if some familiarity with the prevailing chronicle tradition be taken as a possible condition which brought forth the first and the solitary

work of history by a cultured Hindu, why was it not followed for centuries by similar works by his contemporaries who had closer contact with Muslim writers and rulers? If it is argued that history as a form of literature does not survive the loss of political power, the question when and where has such liberation existed will have to be answered. There were still Hindu States, including some which have been described as empires, and they might have maintained their own Court chroniclers, but apart from what we get in bardic literature and stray *khyat* literature we have got very little reliable records of men and matters of historical importance produced and preserved by the Hindus till the end of the 17th century A D The fact is undeniable that the Hindu historians of ancient and early medieval India were more interested in the pursuit of philosophy, religion and sciences than of history. They lacked historiographical traditions and, therefore, old Indian literature, as a whole, has little or no historical writing.

There are evidences about a number of Hindus learning the prevalent Persian language for acquisition of proficiency until it assured the attainment of good jobs in the State service. The Hindu *Fārsī nawīs-i-Muqarrarī* of Fīrūz Shāh, who, was his favourite but whom he could not save from the wrath of fanatical *mullas*, was only one of the many The *Kāyasthas* of Bulandshahar and the *Khatrīs* of the Panjab had taken up the study of Persian long before the Mughal period, and by the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr, Persian had established its hold on many intellectual Hindus. In the time of Shāhjahān, Aurangazēb and their immediate successors many Hindus shone at their best as poets, lexicographers, writers of ornate epistolographical works, and as compositers of *dastūru'l'amals* or administrative manuals containg statistical accounts and regulations of government It was, however, after a lapse of about four centuries that an important general history of India, the second major work of history after *Rajatarangini* of Kallahana, was produced in A H 1107 (A D 1695-6) *Khulasatu't Tawārīkh* (Essence of History) of Sujān Rāi has been highly and justly extolled by Beveridge, and other books such as *Lubbu't Tawārīkh* (the Marrow of History) by Brindāban, son of Rāi Bhāramal, written in A H 1101 (A D 1689-90), do not

come upto its standard. Was the dawn of historical consciousness due to their intellectual thirst or the desire to give their own assessment of the prevailing political situation ?

A striking fact about the historical works of the Hindus is that they were produced in large numbers in an age of political disintegration when Mughal politics had degenerated into a series of political vendetta and factional struggles between rival groups of designing Court nobles and provincial satraps, when internal and external factors were sapping the vitality of the empire; when the crowned heads, not cast in the mould of the great, were incapable of taking any independent action as initiative and enforcing their authority, in short, when the process of centrifugalisation was at work with a vengeance. The Hindu writers were mainly men of the middle rung of the society and subordinate officials of the civil administration. What motivated them to write what they saw, read, and heard about the things happening in their own time, or in near contemporary periods ? Had they any desire to please or flatter their superiors ? Was it a matter of conscience with them to offer their observation on men and matters and write about facts as they actually happened ? Was the element of edification there ? Like many of the Muslim chroniclers they were also of the view that history has a moral purpose, and Khushhāl Chand and Shiv Dās have given sufficient indication that they had the moralising aim in view ? The former writes that the unique events and occurrences that he had recorded might serve as a lesson to touch the nice sense of honour of men of faith and sincerity and also of those of prevarications and hypocrisy. He thought that his book would be an eye-opener to such persons and they may rise from the sleep of apathy and pursue the faith of fidelity and submission Shiv Dās is not so explicit, and, practising humility, says that it was beyond his power to compose a work containing fresh acts of His (God's) justice which are calculated to intimidate and furnish the oppressive tyrants so that it should serve as a warning for the shortsighted and improvident persons

Beveridge, while extolling the virtues of Sujān Rāi whom he described as 'the Indian Heredotus', as the first Hindu who wrote a general history of India 'and, the first Hindu who

wrote history with the doubtful exception of the author of *Rajatrangini*' expressed his view that the author had better notions of history than most Muslim writers The mental habits of the Hindus and their way of looking at things were somewhat different from those of the Muslims, and they were largely free from certain inhibitions which many of the Muslim writers suffered from They were not carried away by passion, prejudices and patriotism of a narrow and opportunistic type, and though displaying reasonable loyalty to the Crown, they kept themselves aloof from mutual quarrels and intrigues of leading selfish Mughal nobles and courtiers. They were perhaps in a better position to make a more realistic appraisal of personalities, problems and events. They were men with experience of life, were well-acquainted with the language and literature of their times, fairly familiar with ways and motives of the contemporaries and had detailed knowledge of government and administration and, therefore, they were qualified to offer the study of the existing situation. The works of Shiv Dās and more especially Khushhāl Chand, give ample evidence of this

Though mentioned and utilized to a certain extent by eminent historians, many of the medieval historical works produced by the Hindus are still unprinted, and even when translated in parts, and much less as a whole, they have not been published. This is the case with the *Shāhnāma Munawwar Kalām* of Shiv Dās, the whole of which was translated for Sir H.M Elliot by Lieutenant Pickard, but Elliot and Dowson did not consider it worth while to incorporate anything from it in their valuable series, perhaps on the wrong assumption that all that it covers has been already provided by the extracts they had given from other contemporary works The *Shāhnāma* has been described as a detailed historical narrative and Court-news with many official letters and *farmāns* relating to the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the first four years of Muhammad Shāh. The work contains a good deal of biographical and anecdotal matter and gives a contemporary view of Court life. No other contemporary work gives such a vivid picture and details of the daily routine life of the Courts of Farrukhsiyar and Muḥammad Shāh.

Rieu says that the work of Shiv Dās is not a connected history but a compilation of Court-news and detailed transactions, every one item of which is prefixed by the heading *waqā'i'* (occurrence). There is no parallel elsewhere of the 124 *waqā'i'* and 42 official letters, of which as many as 22 are important *farmāns*, which have been brought together in a single work. The documents have an importance of their own from several points of view and so of special interest to students and scholars. They give us an illuminating insight into the real character, views and motives of the writers. In short, these letters are important source materials of history and they help us in filling some gaps by those who know how to analyse and interpret the thoughts and acts of men.

Of course, most of the letters follow a uniform pattern in style and contents, and are full of prevarications and equivocations Some of these, however, yield specific information of historical interest. Behind the high sounding words and expressions in the correspondence between the Sayyid king-makers and the founder-Viceroy of the Deccan one can easily mark their rank deceit and hypocrisy. The *'arzdāshts* of Girdhar Bahādur and 'Abdu's Samad Khān provide us with some new information which is not found elsewhers. The adulatory strain of the address in the fairly long *farmāns* sent by Muhammad Shāh to Nizāmu'l-mulk gives us an indication of the predicament in which the young pleasure seeking Emperor had found himself.

There are many things in the narrative of events in the *Shāhnāma* which are not mere compilations or redactions of older information. Shiv Dās does not follow the usual pattern of rhetorical history and is largely free from poetical quotations Other information furnished, though substantially in accord with what was found in other works, are neither derivative nor borrowed. It is true that the work is not a fully integrated narrative and much has been eschewed. There is no day to day, monthwise, or year by year, flow of events and it is not chronologically or topically arranged into regular or proper division. But topics and episodes have been dealt with

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1. "Bihar in the First Quarter of the Eighteenth Century." Indian History Congress, Proceedings Session, 1941

on a selective basis in more or less their historical sequence and there are many additional and new information which one does not get in any other contemporary work In this connection one may refer to the detailed account of the enormities and strange activities of Mīr Jumla, Governor of Bihar, and the tyranny and oppressions committed by his Mughal troops on the people of the province On trifling complaints many innocent men were unjustly put to death when he was on his way from Sasaram to Patna, the turbulent soldiers made fortunes at the expense of the people. Mīr Jumla's misappropriation of the Bengal treasures, and the animal fights, a royal prerogative, which he arranged for himself, and some of his other high-handed acts have been mentioned elsewhere [1] Shiv Dās was an imperialist and he virtually denounced the Sayyids whom he described as *jafā kashān* (oppressors) but he alone also writes about the sacred celebration of the first decade of the blessed month of *Rabi'u'l-awwal* which Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān celebrated with enthusiasm and personally looked after the pious and learned invitees Other entirely new information are also not wanting.

The *Shāhnāma* of Shiv Dās has its strong as also weak points. The colourful accountes of festivals and festivities on occasions of accessions, marriages, and the two *'Ids*, the gifts, grants and presents, the review of animals, dance and music performance and routine life at the Court, may appear as trivial boring to some but they are not meatless bones of names and facts. The biographical touch and insight they give into the manners and habits of kings, grandees, and people of the time are not devoid of historical and cultural interest There are some matters of military interest relating to artillery, strategy, strategem, sieges and general conduct of war We also learn something about the dire sufferings due to divinely ordained or men-made calamities, famines, and varying rates of prices At the end of A D 1716, due to complete failure of rains, prices rose from 20 seers a rupee to 4 seers a rupee and hundreds of people perished daily in towns and villages, and many sold their wives and children.

There are certain defects in the book. Some are too trivial, other, to many, fairly serious. But all flaws and failures such as exaggerated and wrong figures, or factual and chronological

inaccuracies, have been pointed out in the foot-notes, and need not be mentioned here to avoid repetition.

Unfortunately, very little information is available about the life of the author, either in the usual works of references, or in his own work. The only thing we know about him from himself is that he was a *Munshi* in the service of the great, and that on the occasion of the journey (of the elder of the king-makers) from Fathpur Sikri to Akbarābād, after the departure of Ajit Singh, "the writer of the *Sahifa*" (*Nuskha*, in another ms.), with some of his friends, visited the shrine of the most exemplary of the saintly personages, His Holiness Salīm Shāh Chishtī who has his enternal repose in his sepulchre in the town of Fathpur Sikri, and by the guidance of fortune and good luck he attained much prosperity. The author's religious frame of mind becomes evident also from his references to Hemrāj Jāti, a *faqīr* beloning to Seora Order of mendicants, who was the spiritual guide of Raja Ratanchand, and whom our author describes as *faqir-i-kāmil* (perfect saint). Like many men of his age he had superstitious belief in *majzūbān* who being attracted by Divine Grace had renounced all worldly concerns. He virtually explains the death of *Wazīr*, Muhammad Amīn Khān, as a punishment for the inhuman treatment that he had meted out to a *faqīr* named Niranjan.

In the end a few words may be said about the four copies of the work consulted by the translator. The Bombay copy received from the late lamented Professor Najeeb Ashraf which has many pages missing, appears to have been seen by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, for, on the margin one can see his handwriting in pencil at some places. It is a bound volume with very thick paper, having 19 lines to a page. The Aligarh copy is a transcript of a photostat copy of London. The scribe has left two or three lines, and he has made some mistakes here and there. The photocopy of the British Museum *ms.* is very well-written, and it consists of 87 folios with 15 lines to a page. The scribe has given his name as Muhammad Rashīd, but there is no date of transcription. By far the best and the most complete copy is that of Salār Jang Library of which a photo copy was procured for the K P Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. It has 150 folios with 13 or 14 lines to a page. The

colophon does not give the name of the scribe but says that it was completed on 22 *Zu'l-qa'da* year 4th of accession (of Muhammad Shāh) The legible portion of the last line gives some indication that it was transcribed in *Daru'l Khilāfat* Shāhjahānabād (Delhi) within the *Kathara* (railing) of Khalīl Khān's mansion. Khalīl Khān is described as a *hamrāhi* (comrade) of *Amārāt wa Ayālat Panāh* (asylum of government and administration) Nawwāb Sanjar Khān who had been elevated by Farrukhsiyar to the rank of 2,000 horse and had been given a *jāgir* in Awadh. These two were compatriots of Shiv Dās and were residents of Malihabad (Lucknow). Nawwāb Sanjar Khān has been frequently mentioned and highly eulogised by our author. It seems that Khalīl Khān and some others who were present on the occasion of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's murder chose a retired life at the imperial metropolis It would not be too much to presume that it was at his instance and possibly with his help that the book was compiled, dictated or transcribed by the author himself. I also learnt about a few other copies at other places but I could not obtain their photos or transcripts

My interest in the present work began some twenty-five years ago when I received a well-written but incomplete copy of it from the late lamented Professor Najeeb Ashraf Nadvi I showed it to my respected teacher Sir Jadunath Sarkar who encouraged me and asked me to collect other copies of the work and translate and edit the work and send it to him for publication in the Gaekwad Oriental series For various reasons the manuscript remained unattended to and it was only after my retirement in A.D. 1956 that I took it up again The grant of some financial assistance under the UGC scheme of assistance to retired teachers enabled me to resume work on the manuscript, and I published its edited text in 1968 Subsequently, I translated it into English and added explanatory notes and comments I am thankful to the authorities of the Indian Council of Historcal Research and particularly to my esteemed pupil, excolleague and benefactor, Professor R.S. Sharma, for sponsoring its publication. I am also thankful to Dr. Qeyāmuddin Aḥmad, another pupil and ex-colleague, for preparing the manuscript for the press.

Patna, 5 December 1973. S. H. Askari

Shāhnāma Munawwar Kalām

In the name of *Allāh*,[1] the Merciful and the Compassionate.

Countless praises be to God, the Divine Creator who is without wants, is matchless, incomparable, indubitable and without form Lord of generosity and benevolence, the Supreme Master Absolutely just, upright judge. He shows the correct path to those lost in the wilderness of perdition and is leader in the road of true faith and religion He satisfies the desires of the needy and fulfils the wants of the wretched and the afflicted All existing things of the universe are comprehended by His grace, and the entire creation reposé under the shadow of His munificent protection He is called the true Distributor of justice and the real Judge and Disposer of benefactions. What power has the tongue to utter the praises of His attributes, and what strength has life to acquit itself of discharging the debt of obligations due to Him ?

Verses Is it within the competence of the hand or tongue ? To discharge the debt of gratitude due to Him The qualities of His benevolence defy language His justice and kindness are beyond description How muchsoever do you attempt to obtain from His graciousness, it cannot be weighed in the scale of (human) wisdom and judgement

The description of recent happenings of His benevolent Master, a warning to the oppressors[2] and a lesson for the short-sighted, is and was beyond the ability and competence of Shiv Dās Lakhnavī, of no merit, a mere atom of steady loyalty, but, as he had long been in the assembly of the high-minded and supremely exalted and had passed his life in the service of the learned whose graciousness and blessings had

enabled him to acquire skill in the act[3] of eloquent composition and aptitude for performing duties, so much so that the association with them brought within the purview of his pen something which he has named *Shāhnāma Munawwar Kalām* He is hopeful that the great, the exalted and the learned would draw the pen of forgiveness on the errors and mistakes wherever they might have crept in, because (to err) is the essence of human nature. This would place this humble one under a debt of gratitude .

I have written and I have spent a long time (over it)

I may not remain (alive), but this would remain as my memento.

When, through the grace of God and favour of the Eternal Lord, the management of the affairs of State and direction of important matters of the Empire passed into the hands of the blessed ruler of land and sea, Emperor Muhammad Farrukhsiyar,[4] 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān, sons of late 'Abdullāh Khān, (the descendants of) the Sayyids[5] of Bāiha who had put in great exertions, in the battle fought with Muhammad Mu'izzu'd-dīn, and had undergone sufferings of many kings, became the recipients of much kindness and numerous favours at the hands of the King of kings. By the grace of heaven and the attention of His Majesty, 'Abdullāh Khān was appointed to the office of the *wizārat*, and honoured with the title of *Qutbu'l-mulk Yamīnu'd-daulāh. Zafar Jang Sipāh Sālār, Yār-i-wafādār*, granted a *mansab* of *hasht hazārī wa hasht hazār suwār du aspa sih-aspa* (8000z 8000s 2h-3h) and was given a special *Jāgīr* in the province of the imperial metropolis and elsewhere. Husain 'Alī Khān appointed to the office of premier *Bakhshī* (*ba mansab-ī-Bakhshigarī-i-awwal*) and entitled *Amīru'l-umarā, Sipah Sālār Mansūr Jang* with the *mansab of haft hazārī wa haft hazār suwār* (7000z/7000s) and was ennobled with a rich *jāgīr* in the *Sūba* of Lahore, and the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi)[6] etc Khwāja 'Abdullāh,[7] who, during the reign of Khuld Makān (Aurangzēb) had held the post of Qāzī of *Sūba* Bengal. in view of his previous association and his record of

recent services was promoted to the *manṣab* of *haft hazārī wa haft hazār suwār* (7000z/7000s) and assigned choicest and fertile *jāgīrs* in the *Sūba* of Lahore etc He was appointed *Dārogha-i-Khawāsān* and *Ghuslkhāna* and *Dīwān-i-khās* and was entrusted with special duties connected with the person of the sovereign. He was ennobled and distinguished with the title of Mīr Jumla Bahādur He became the corner stone of the affairs of State and the chief organiser of all matters pertaining to administration Khwāja 'Āsim[8] who had been one of the nobles of Khuld Makān (Aurangzēb) and Khuld Manzil (Bahādur Shāh) and was endowed with virtuous meets and much integrity and had command over theology,[9] and who had been known to the Emperor from before and who had undergone exertions and trouble in the royal cause was appointed *Bakhshī* of *Walāshāhī* troops (*ba khidmat-i-bakhshīgari-mardum-i-wāla shāhī*) He was given the *manṣab* of *haft hazāri wa haft hazār suwār* (7000z/7000s) and choice *jāgīr* in the province of the imperial town (of Shāhjahānābād and Akbarābād) and elsewhere He was entitled *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-daurān Bahādur Manṣūr Jang* and became the main favourite and a boon companion and courtier of the Emperor

Chabela Rām Nāgar,[10] brother of Dayā Bahādur, who had given up the company of Azizu'd-dīn, son of Mu'izzu'd-dīn at Kora Jahānābād and come with the royal treasure to join the Emperor, taken an active part in the battle, was given the *manṣab of haft hazārī wa haft hazār suwār* (7000z/7000s) and the title of Rājā, and was appointed *Sūbadār* of Awadh. Mīr Musharraf[11] of Lakhnau (Lucknow), one of the companions of the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, Amīru'l-umārā Husain 'Alī Khān, who had, in the recent battle, joined the Emperor with his brothers, and had put in great exertions and suffered some wounds, was given a special robe and a *manṣab of panj hazārī-i panj hazārī suwār* (5000z/5000s) The Emperor very graciously conferred on him the title of Khān, but he declined the honour and remained content with his former name Muhammad Khān Bangash, a protege of *Qutbu'l-mulk, Yaminu'd-daulāh* appeared before the Emperor and was promoted to the *manṣab of panj hazārī-i panj hazār suwār* (5000z/5000) [12] Dilāwar Khān of

Lakhnau who had greatly exerted himself and had undergone hardships in Awadh even before the battle and the royal victory and had caused the Khutba to be recited and coins to be struck in the name of His Majesty, arrived with a respectable Contingent He was led into audience by Samsāmu'd-daulāh, Khān-i-daurān Bahādur and he was favoured with a special robe and an embroidered headdress (*jīgha*) He was entitled Shamshīr Khān and was favoured with a *mansab* of 2,500 *zāt* 2,200 *suwār mansabdār-i-barāwardi*[14] He was granted his *muhāl-i-watan* as his *jāgīr* Khalīl[15] Khān Bāyazīd Khail of Malihābād, a companion of the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, who had displayed great exertions in the battle and had suffered wounds, was favoured with a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt*, 1,000 *suwār* and a *jāgīr* in the *Sūba* of Awadh Shaikh Sanāullāh[16] of Lakhnau who too was taken into service through Samsāmu'd-daulāh and was promoted to the *mansab* 'of 2.500 *zāt* 2,000 *suwār*, *mansabdār-i-barāwardi* and received the *Pargāna* of *Haveli-i* Lakhnau as *jāgīr*

His Majesty gifted as he was with the qualities of courage, boldness liberality, justice and valour,[17] was very fond of hunting excursions He regularly went on hunting twice a week on Saturdays and Tuesdays in the vicinity of the imperial metropolis

WAQA'I (Occurrence) As Rājā Ajit Singh Rathor, the *Zamindar* of Jodhpur, being puffed up with pride on account of the strength and abundance of his forces, had neglected to send the congratulatory letter as well as the *peshkash wa nisar* to the Court of the refuge of the world, the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, Amīru l-umarā was ordered to accomplish the destruction[18] of the Rājā The Amīru'l-umarā made requisition of certain things which were all sanctioned Forty nobles holding ranks between 1,000 to 5,000 were placed under him Three crores of rupees in cash were sanctioned to him from the royal treasury, and fifty elephants were placed at his disposal He was also favoured with a dress of honour (consisting) of six pieces of cloth, and a studded sword and a dagger with a pearl necklace worth one lack of rupees and ten horses of 'Irāqī and Arabian breed with golden trappings,

fifty guns, big and small, and a number of officials from the offices of the *Dīwān* and *Bakhshī* along with the *sarishta-dārān* were directed to accompany him The Amīru'l-umarā was empowered to the bestowal of *Jāgīrs* and grants of increments in the pay of his retinue The Amīrul'-umarā nominated *Samsāmud-daulāh* to act as his deputy in the office of *Bakhshī* and handed to him his seal Having obtained permission for departure he set out towards Ajmer, the abode of piety Besides the three crores of rupees given to him by His Majesty, he had with him another 500 cart load of treasure, each cart driven by six bullocks In addition to this *Jumlatu'l-mulk Madāru'l-mahāmm* remitted to him treasures in the form of drafts (*hundis*) The Amīru'l-umarā generally gave to the men deputed with him something at his own instance, besides their *talab* (pay) As regards their pay (*talab*) he paid it from month to month so regularly that his men had little time to prepare receipts of payment

Proceeding on his journey, stage by stage, the *Amīru'l-umarā*, arrived in that land (Jodhpur) at the head of 50,000 horses and a larger number of foot soldiers The aforesaid Rājā was unable to maintain his stand and realizing that the destruction of his country was inevitable, he gave way and chose the path of obedience and submission, and agreed to send the *dola*[19] of his daughter and the *peshkash* When this was reported to His Majesty he accepted it (proposal) The Amīru'l-umarā' brought to the Court fifty lakh of rupees in cash, fifty horses of 'Irāqī and Arabian breed with trappings gold and silver embroidered and set in with lapis lazuli, ten elephants with *howdas* (litters) of gold and silver, and jewels worth fifty lakhs of rupees as *peshkash* along with the *dola* of the Rājā's daughter He was granted audience, was loaded with special horses and became the recipient of commendation and praise

WAQĀ'I' His Majesty issued orders for making necessary arrangements for the celebration of his wedding and *nikāh* with the daughter of Ajīt Singh One lakh of rupees was spent on fire works, and one lakh rupees was spent on illuminations and other preparations for

the marriage[20] The celebrations lasted for three nights and days His Majesty seated on the *Muṣamman Burj* (Octagonal tower) witnessed the fire works that had been arranged on the sands of the Jamuna, and enjoyed the dances of dancing girls, jugglers and tumblers (*Natwāhās*). He ordered the distribution of perfumes and betel leaves and also other rewards among his slaves and attendants After three days the *nikāh* of His Majesty with the daughter of Rājā Ajīt Singh was performed On this occasion were present the *Sadru's-sudūr*, the *Qāzīu'l-quzāt*, the *Muftīs* and other respectable religious persons After the acceptance and agreement the ceremony of *nikāh* was performed and fifty crores[21] of gold *muhrs* were settled as the dower money (*mahr*) His Majesty conferred robes of honour on every religious divine and dispersed them Qutbu'l-mulk presented one lakh and a pearl necklace worth 50,000 rupees and was favoured with a robe of honour and an embroidered *jīgha* *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khan Bahādur offered 50 000 rupees in cash and a golden dagger worth 30,000 and got a special robe of six pieces of cloth and an embroidered *bālāband* Zafar Khān,[22] the second *Bakhshi*, presented 1,000 gold *muhrs* and received a special robe of honour. Amīnu'd-din[23] Khan made an offering of 1,000 gold *muhrs* (*ashrafīs*) and received in reward a robe Mīr Jumla Bahādur offered one lakh in cash and was favoured with a special robe and an embroidered *Jīgha* Samsāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-dauran Bahādur made a present of 1,000 gold *muhrs* (*ashrafīs*) and got a *khil'at* (dress of honour) and an embroidered *Sarpech* (turban) Sayyid Salābat[24] Khān Bahādur Mīr-i-Ātish, offered 50 000 rupees and was rewarded with a robe Mīr Musharraf offered 500 *Ashrafīs* as '*nazr* (offering) and got a special robe Shamshīr Khān *alias* Dilāwar Khān Malīhābādi made an offering of 50 *Ashrafīs*, and got a special robe and an embroidered *Jīgha*

WAQ'I' After some time had passed in this way, misunderstanding[25] and quarrel arose between *Qutbu'l-mulk Yaminud-daulāh* and Mīr Jumla Bahādur Both the brothers, Qutbu'l-mulk and Amīru'l-umarā' Bahādur agreed and decided

that Mīr Jumla should be removed from the presence of His Majesty because his stay at the capital was not desireable. Accordingly, they submitted to His Majesty that as the affairs of the *Sūbas* of the Deccan and Patna and its environs were in a state of confusion one of them (the Sayyid brothers) should be sent to look after the government of one of these places and Mīr Jumla Bahādur be sent to the government of the other and they should be directed to restore order in the administration of their respective *Sūbas* and should themselves exert to the utmost of their capacity Although His Majesty did not like that Mīr Jumla Bahādur should be separated from him, when he saw that the affairs of the kingdom might fall in disorder he deemed it expedient to give his approval The management and control of all the *Sūbas* of the Deccan was entrusted to the Amīru'l-umarā, and Mīr Jumla Bahādur was invested with the administration of Patna and its environs Within a few days they were invested robes of honour, horses and swords, and were allowed to leave the Court and take charge of their respective Provinces. Separation from Mīr Jumla being very painful to His Majesty, he directed him to proceed towards, and stay at Patna for the time being, and wait there for further instructions. He was ordered to keep himself ready to proceed to the door-sill, the emblem of graciousness, the moment he received directions to that effect and then gather honour by waiting upon His Majesty According to the auspicious orders the Amīru'l-umarā appointed *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* K͟hān-i-daurān Bahādur as the Deputy *Bak͟hshi* and handed over the seal to him After this, having obtained leave, he marched towards the Deccan with an adequate number of troops.[26]

Mīr Jumla Bahādur also having collected a force set out towards the *mahāls* to which he had been nominated He wrote letters to each of the grandees of that environ and asked them to attend upon him extending to them hopes of getting ranks, gifts of elephants, ready cash, robes, and jewelled arms. Accordingly, most of the elite (*'umdaha*) of the provinces of those parts, and many leaders and *ahl-i-tūmān* from Awadh came with large retinues and waited upon Mīr

Jumla Bahādur at Kora, Kara, Ilāhābād, Benares, and Sahsaram, and received from him, according to their rank and following, robes, elephants, jewels and cash Thus he was able to collect round him more than 50,000 horsemen and about a similar number of foot-soldiers Near Benares arrived the treasure of one crore[28] and 80 lakhs of rupees and 2 000 elephants, sent by Murshid Quli Khān, the *Nāẓim* of Bengal Mir Jumla seized the treasure and some choice elephants Unhesitatingly did he distribute among his soldiers and followers cash, some elephants, jewels and robes of honour

When the camp arrived in the environs of Araul[29] a group of peasants (*ra'yāhā-i-dih*) from the neighbouring villages came to complain against the high-handedness of some free-booters. Mīr Jumla Bahādur ordered a Mughal officer to capture the mischief-mongers and bring them as captives. The aforesaid Mughal without any inquiry caught hold of 13 men, some of whom were vegetable and grass vendors, and produced them before Mīr Jumla Bahādur As Mir Jumla ordered them to be put to death,[30] Sanjar Khān, who on account of the following of his brethren and *ahl-i-tumān* was one of the leading *Sardars* (*'umdahai'*) of *Suba* Awadh arrived near Araul as summoned (by Mīr Jumla Bahādur) with 2 000 *suwār* and a larger number of *piyāda* and along with his sons 'Abdul Nabī Khān and Diler Khān, the well known swordsmen of that region Moved by the fear of God he rushed on foot to secure the release of the innocent captives But before he could arrive there, and explain their position, seven out of them had been already executed Among them there was a very old vegetable seller who had been brought as captive, along with his son, who was just in the prime of his life As they were about to put the son to death, the father fell on him, and entreated the executioner to kill him in place of his son, and spare the boy Those merciless people put both the son and the father to death Sanjar Khān arrived after this incident, and he interceded for the rest who were alive, and succeeded in securing their release

WAQĀ'I' : As the crowd of the Turānī Mughals was beyond count, they fought among themselves, shed innocent blood and recklessly plundered the property of the people As the army arrived at Sahasaram, one watch (*pahr*) of the day had remained. The sky was overcast with clouds After a while torrential rains began to pour and a strong stormy wind arose. At length the rain and hail-storm became so violent that the tents of Mīr Jumla and those of all troopers fell down, and horses and camels in the whole camp broke loose and created terrible confusion. The calamity lasted for one whole *pahr* The Muslims gave the call for prayers and the Hindus recited the names of their Creator. When rains and hail diminished there was one *gharī* left in the day, and everyone searched out his horses and camels and brought them to his place.

WAQĀ'I' When Mīr Jumla arrived near the city of Patna he dismissed all his troops and gave them leave to depart. And a group of the Hindustānīs who had followed him in the hope of getting *manṣabs* and service returned to their homes after escorting him to Patna The Tūrānī Mughals who were rich by themselves and had added to their wealth by plunder stayed behind and stretched their hands of oppression upon the properties of the inhabitants of the city In whatever house a Mughal came, he became its master forthwith As they had plenty of money with them, they gave themselves upto excessive pleasures and sensuality They roamed about in every lane and market and on high roads, dead drunk and carrying in their hands cups and bottles of wine They shed the blood of innocent people Sometimes they themselves were killed.

A strange incident that occurred was that a Mughal entered a house dead drunk with a bottle of wine and cup in his hands. By chance there was none in the house except a young woman. When she saw the situation, she pretended to be polite and affable She seated the Mughal on the bed (*chārpāī*) and stood before him as if to attend upon him The wicked Mughal whose death was at hand was thrown off his guard by her conduct He gave the bottle and cup of wine in her hands and began to indulge himself in wine-bibbing The woman kept herself safe by her cunning artifices and devices and made

him unconscious When she saw that the Mughal had gone to sleep and was in a state of unconsciousness, she finished him with his own knife She then left the house and went away to another place

In the same way, another Mughal entered the house of a wine brewer He had a young and beautiful daughter. The Mughal desired for her hand in marriage As affirmation and consent[31] (*ījāb* and *qabūl*) are the necessary prerequisites for a *nikāh* marriage, the Mughal one day came to the wine-brewer saying "Are you pleased and satisfied/acquiescent with me ?" As the innocent man was unaware of the trick he replied with simplicity, "Yes ! I am pleased and acquiescent". The following day the aforesaid Mughal, accompanied by some other Mughals, came again to the wine-brewer and in their presence, deceitfully made the latter express his consent in the form of dialogues as mentioned above Thereafter, he called for sweet-meats which he distributed (among those present) and gave a little of the same to the wine-brewer as well The simple man took the sweet-meat. After this the Mughal caught the man's daughter by her hands and dragged her towards himself The wine-brewer, his wife and children raised a hue and cry and called for his help Saying, 'is there anyone to care for his helplessness ?' The Mughal took away the daughter by force and married her

Another strange incident was (like this) Mīr Jumla had detailed some troops under the command of a Mughal officer to maintain order in the out-skirts of the city As the Contingent was composed mainly of the Tūrānī Mughals they plundered the villages and small towns A village held in *ma'ash* (rent-free grant) was situated near the high way. The grantee (*arbāb-i-ma'āsh*) of the village had his house just by the road side He was a blind and an old man. He had four daughters and a little son The old man had placed at the door of his house earthen pots[32] full of water. He served the water to the thirsty troopers through his children Some Mughals came to him and asked for water. As the children carried the water to the Mughals they seized all the four daughters and the little boy, lifted them up on the

backs of their horses, and tied all of them with their own waists. When they began to cry and howl, the helpless blind man ran out shouting and beseeching them to set his children free. In order to eliminate (his complaints and to silence) him they killed him and carried away their captives with them No one reached to help the children From that place when the troops returned to Patna, the Mughals brought all the captives to the bank of the river Ganges and put them in a boat. When the boat was in the middle of the deep stream the children conversed with each other silently by their looks, signs and hints and decided that for dying and delivering themselves from the captivity there could be no better place So they planned to hold the little boy and to throw themselves into the water and die They did it accordingly Finding the Mughals off their guard, holding the hands of the little boy they suddenly threw themselves into the water and gave up their sweet lives to the Creator of life

WAQ.'I' A *zamīndār* of the neighbourhood sent a living tiger in an iron cage, to Mīr Jumla Bahādur He ordered that an enclosure be erected in the compound of the mansion[13] It was erected at the site of the enclosure built by Prince Muhammad 'Azīmud dīn They drove the tiger into the enclosure At first the infuriated tiger jumped from place to place and then stretching out both his front paws sat on the ground Mīr Jumla Bahādur ordered that wild buffaloes and elephants be brought and thrown into the enclosure This was done They first brought a female buffalo which was driven inside with the keeper riding on her back The tiger sprang up (on them) and seizing the rider threw him on the ground, sat on his body, and killed him After this an elephant was brought and driven into the enclosure The tiger began to roar, then leaving the place he was sitting, it sprang upon the elephant [and sunk his claws into the trunk of the elephant] The elephant became wild (with pain) and rushed out of the fence The tiger returned to its place and sat down. The roaring of the tiger and the flight of the elephant created much confusion among the people who had collected there for the spectacle. At last they brought another female buffalo and

drove her into the enclosure The above mentioned buffalo approached the tiger with the greatest courage. As the tiger attacked her she lifted the beast upon her horns and dashed it against the ground and killed it Mīr Jumla Bahādur awarded 500 rupees and a *Khil'at* to the heir of the man who had been first killed by the tiger

WAQA'I' · As an order[34] had arrived in the *nalwa* (tube of bamboo) by post from His Majesty summoning Mir Jumla Bahādur (to his presence) Mīr Jumla Bahādur made preparation for his journey and demanded loans from the bankers (*mahājans*) of the city. One can have an idea of the bigness of the city from the fact that the bankers (*mahājanān*) of the city collected 13 lakhs of rupees in the form of a single commodity, the salt, which was delivered Mir Jumla Bahādur distributed the salt among his troops and followers The soldiers lowered the price a little and got (it) converted into cash

Mīr Jumla Bahādur came out of the city of Patna in the month of the later part of the rainy (season), and encamped outside the city with a view to proceeding to the threshold of His Majesty

WAQ'I' Certain events and incidents which had taken place at Aurangabād Khujastā Bunyād (of august foundation) were reported to His Majesty When *Bakhshīu'l*-mamālik Amīru'l-umarā,' Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur, the *Nazim* of the Deccani *Sūbas*, having received leave of departure from the Court arrived in the Deccan, a fight occurred between him and the deposed Governor (*Nazim*) Dāwud Khān[35] The above mentioned Dāwud Khān was killed by Amīru'l-umarā Husain 'Alī Khān The cause of quarrel between the deposed and the newly appointed (Governor) was this that His Majesty of Solomon-like dignity was equally ill disposed towards both of them and he thought that it would be good for Islam if either of them is killed The royal orders had been issued to Dāwud Khān the deposed Governor, to the effect that he was to retain his office there as before and he should not permit the Amīru'l-umarā' to interfere (with the affairs) And (on the contrary) *farmāns* were issued to the Amīru'l-umarā the new Governor

saying that Dāwud Khān had stayed there out of evil intentions and was not coming to the Court; (and therefore) he should be sent under escort to the capital On the receipt of these contradictory instructions, disputes and quarrels arose between the ex-Governor and the (newly) appointed (Governor). At last both of them had recourse to arms and fought a battle with arrows and artillery By destiny a cannon ball hit the Khān and shattered his chest to pieces. His army was defeated and a great victory fell to the lot of the Amīrul-umarā, who confiscated the property of the aforesaid Khān and forwarded to the illustrious Court a *fathnāma* (letter of victory) as follows [36]

I, the Amīru'l-umarā, your most humble and obedient servant, after rendering respectful salutation and obeisance, beg to submit to (those admitted to the pleides-studded portal and those who have access) to the royal threshold, lofty as heaven, that in accordance with the orders, bearing the seal of the noble grandee, I'tiqād Khān, containing instructions for sending Dāwud Khān, the deposed *Nazim* of the *Ṣūbas* (Sūbajāt) of the Deccan, addressed to this most humble slave, had the honour of being received The faithful slave of His Majesty, in obedience to the aforesaid instructions, pressed the latter much to that effect but he was so puffed up with pride on account of the large number of his (*jam'iyat*) that no effect was produced on him Nay, he harboured other thoughts in his mind, and prepared himself to fight I, the slave of the sky-high Court, did not want that he should be killed, but the said Khān, having disposed his troops in battle array, took the initiative in the attack Finding no other alternative, this devoted slave, had to move forward and take the field Eventually, the said Khān, as God so willed it, was wounded by the shot of a musket ball, fell on the ground, and surrendered his sweet soul to the Creator of the Universe. His Majesty's devoted servant, exercised great care and caution in protecting his tribesmen and relatives and looking after his property These will be transmitted, in accordance with royal orders that might be issued to this effect. It was proper and, therefore has been so submitted

WAQĀ'I' : Mīr Jumla Bahādur remained encamped in the suburbs of Patna for a month and twenty days[37] and then proceeded towards the capital Shāhjahānābād After covering the way and passing the stages as he arrived in the vicinity of Arail (Arall) he found that seditious men had erected a fort in a thorny jungle near the highway and were engaged in robbery and in plundering the goods and properties of the wayfarers. When the advance camp of Mīr Jumla Bahādur, accompanied by a brave officer of the army and a force of 5,000 horse arrived there, the aforesaid miscreants defeated the accompanying army, looted the camp and carried away both light and heavy baggage to the fort and strengthened the place When Mīr Jumla Bahādur arrived there with three thousand horse and a similar number of foot and was informed of what had happened, he issued orders for the chastisement of the wicked people and for levelling down of their fort

Although the troops that accompanied him besieged the fort, yet none of them dared to capture it As day was fading out and night was dawning it was likely that the miscreants might slip away unscathed and reach their homes safely, Sanjar Khān with his sons 'Abdul Nabi Khān and Diler Khān and with some other of the selected tribesmen, (khās khelān) came forward and descended into the ditch 'Abdul Nabī Khān, the eldest son of the aforesaid, who was known and reputed for his soldierly skill, along with some young warriors, having broken through the wall of the fort, entered the citadel,[38] and cut down the miscreants right and left and sent them to hell. Mīr Jumla Bahādur extremely praised their bravery and soldierly exertions.

Mīr Jumla Bahadur passed the night there. Next morning he set out from that place and after travelling from stage to stage arrived at Benares. He halted there for a few days In the middle of one night, he suddenly left with a few men for the imperial capital, Shāhjahānābād, leaving behind his followers (*mardum-i-qabā'il*) and the whole of his army together with its bag and baggage (*kārkhānajāt*). In the morning when the sun rose the news of his departure spread among the high and the low. The people were struck with surprise He moved

with speed and quickness and set out with such suddenness as to cover 30 *kuroh* before the end of the night and the appearance of the light of dawn that day. Some travellers who came from that direction to Benares reported that the day Mīr Jumla Bahādur had left Benares he had alighted with a few of his horsemen at a certain place, 30 *kuroh* from Benares, in a garden for his morning prayers. The followers of Mīr Jumla Bahādur, particularly Sanjar Khān, exerted themselves in protecting his adherents and household property and carrying the same safely to the imperial metropolis, despite tumultuous disturbances and insurrections raised by the seditious and recalcitrant people After the baggage and property of the aforesaid had been safely carried to the capital and Mīr Jumla Bahādur had also arrived at the capital the news of the *harkārās* (messengers) was reported to His Majesty. 'Abdullāh Khān also came to know about the affair. On the request and representation of the latter he (Mīr Jumla Bahādur) was directed to repair to Sarhind and other *mahāls* of his *jāgīr* and manage them Consequently, in obedience to the command of His Majesty, he went to Sarhind and remained there Another order had the honour of being issued that Sanjar Khān, the companion of Mīr Jumla Bahādur, be summoned and be enabled to gather the benefit of an audience of His Majesty. *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur sent Sayyid Salābat Khān, Mīr Ātish (commandant of the royal artillery) and Daust 'Alī Khān, his adopted son, to bring the Khān (Sanjar Khān) to Court The aforesaid Khān received the audience with *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān through Saiyid Salābat Khān Mīr Ātish and Daust 'Alī Khān It was through *Samsamu'd-daulah* that he had the honour of kissing the ground before His Majesty He presented a big elephant and was favoured with a special robe a dagger with an embroidered handle, and a shield studded with pearls, and also a *mansab* of 3,000 *Zat* and 2,000 *suwār*, with 200 *suwār mansabdār-i-barāwardī*.

WAQĀ'I'. Abdus Ṣamad Khān,[39] *Nāzim* of the *Sūba* of Lahore, and his son, Zakarīyā Khān, after a good deal of trouble and fighting captured the vanquished *Gurū*, who had raised the dust of rebellion in the neighbourhood of Lahore,

the Capital of the *Sūba*, had perpetrated various kinds of oppression and high-handedness on both the communities, Musalmāns and Hindūs and brought him handcuffed along with his wife, son and followers[40] numbering 1300 At the time of the entrance into the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād, the vanquished *Gurū* was clad in an embroidered garment and mounted on an elephant with a Mughal standing behind him with a drawn sword in his hand The 1300 followers were brought in twos mounted on camels, their bare feet fastened with ropes to camels As regards those of the vanquished faction who had died fighting (for the cause of that wretched villainous fellow.) and those who had been put to sword after being made captive, their skulls were fixed on the tops of long wooden poles which with their dried heads on them, were placed in the hands of vagabonds who had to carry them in front of the elephant on which the vanquished *Gurū* was mounted In this manner they were paraded in the capital city, and were then led by the army to the presence of His Sacred Majesty A huge concourse collected to witness the spectacle, and they abused the vanquihsed *Gurū* on his face He (*Guru*) did not utter a word but remained with head bent down His followers, however, who were mounted on the camels responded with utmost pertinacity and insolence They (the people) continued to abuse them

Royal orders were issued for taking them to the prison of *Chabūtra-i-Kotwālī* and to take the greatest care and precaution in guarding them The accused *Guru* was taken to the *Chabūtra-i-Kotwālī* and was kept in surveillance within the fort whereas his followers were imprisoned in the *Chabutra-i-Kotwalī* of the city Next day, the royal order was issued that every day one hundred followers of the accused *Gurū* should be executed at the platform (*Chabutra*) of the *Kotwālī*, and it was done The steadfastness of devotion and firmness of faith of that band of people in their spiritual master was worth noticing, for they had no fear of death and slaughter and were instead pleased and happy to suffer They gave the executioner the name of *Muktaman* (giver of salvation), and each one of them said with pleasure (to the executioner) "Oh *Muktaman* kill me

first." Every day one hundred men were killed. The black smiths were kept ready; they sharpened the swords and handed them over to the executioners. The executioners seperated the heads of the accused ones from their corpses and kept the corpses in a separate heap In the evening the heads and the corpses were put in carts and were taken outside the city and hanged there Not one of those men desired to be set free.

Among them there was a young man.[41] In the words of Sa'dī Shīrāzī 'the hair was just visible on his face and he had not yet tasted the fruits of manhood ! A woman submitted a petition to 'Abdullāh Khān through his *Mutasaddī* Ratan Chand, and supplicated for the release of the youth, saying "I am a widow and have in him the only son. He has been captured along with the *Gurū* unjustly He is not one of the disciples and devotees I pray that he may be set free". The aforesaid Khān interceded for him with His Majesty. The Emperor issued an order for his release When the woman showed the *parwāna* for his release to the *Kotwāl*, the latter, as ordered, brought him out of the prison and told him what had happened and set him free. That young boy did not accept (his liberation) and said "I do not recognise who this woman is, nor do I know what is her purpose I am one of the true disciples of my *Gurū*, and I have surrendered my life to my spiritual master Let my fate be the same as that of my spiritual guide and his adherents". He refused to be set at liberty and surrendered himself to be slain along with them

At last the order was issued that the accused *Gurū*, too along with his son, be tortured and put to death. This was done He was clothed in glittering attire and was seated on an elephant in the same manner as he had been led into the royal audience, and was publicly paraded and taken outside the city (Then) he was brought down from the elephant and seated on the ground, and his seven years old son was placed in his lap He was demanded to kill the child with a knife and with his own hands. The *Gurū* had not the courage to do so and refrained from doing it. Eventually, the executioner killed the son with a knife, and taking out his lever, thrust it out into the *Gurū's* mouth. After this he cut down the *Gurū* gradually.

piece by piece, and after sometime the *Gurū* also ceased to exist The wife of the *Gurū* was converted to Islam and became one of the slaves of the royal seraglio.

WAQĀ'I' · His Majesty went to *Sarāi* Badli[42] for the purpose of excursion and hunting, and his tents were pitched there One day it so happend that the retinue of the ladies of *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* moving from one side and that of Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur from the other side crossed each other While arrangements were being made some quarrel arose between the followers of the *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* and those of Muhammad Amīn [42b] The situation took a serious turn, fire all over began to be exchanged Many men tested the sweet syrup of martyrdom, and many others were severely wounded. The people of the market were plundered and many of them were also killed Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān, the exalted ones of the imperial retinue and their followers joined the men of *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* Bahādur, who was a favourite of the Emperor and it looked as if Muhammad Amīn Khān's party was going to be worsted The disturbances were about to take the shape of a general insurrection when His Majesty himself intervened and put an end to the riotous fighting.

WAQA'I' His Majesty of the Solomon like dignity gatherd immense pleasure and joy from hunting and excursion for a month, after which he left *Sarāi* Badli and made entrance into the auspicious fort of the capital of Shāhjahānābād. When the rainy season set in, he gave himself up to enjoyment and pleasures That year it rained so heavily that 1300 *havelīs* of Shāhjahānābād fell down and 2600 perished under the debris. The *Kotwāl* of the city prepared a ward-wise list (*mahalla-ba-mahalla*) of the houses that had fallen or had been damaged and of the men who had been killed and submitted that to His Majesty.

WAQĀ'I' After the rains were over His Majesty determined upon the extirpation of the accused Chūrā (Churāman)[43] Jāt who had committed great crimes Rāja Jai Singh Sawāi, the refuge of authority and government, was commissioned to execute this task [44] He was favoured with the grant of a robe

of honour (of six pieces of clothes), an embroidered head-dress, an elephant, two horses of 'Irāqī and Arabian breed, and one valuable pearl necklace and 40,000 rupees in cash; and it was settled that the royal army should be stationed in *Qasba* Palwal for the purposes of affording security and protection to the travellers and wayfarers passing through the highway. The refuge of bravery and generosity Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān the exalted ones (*wālā Shahiān*) were deputed to perform this duty They received special robes and dresses of honour, in addition to *mansabdarī* of 1,000 horse besides the *Wālāshāhī* rank ranging from one to two thousand and two hundred *suwār mansab-dār-i-barāwardi*. They were to be accompanied by other Khāns. Two months' advance salary amounting to a sum of 50,000 rupees in cash was granted from the Imperial Treasury After prayers for their welfare has been recited they were permitted to leave and *sazāwals* were appointed to see that aforesaid Khāns arrived at the places allotted to them.

The aforesaid Khāns, before the arrival of Rāja Jai Singh *Sawai* the protector of the State, marched with all speed and haste and arrived at the appointed place and engaged themselves in ensurring security and protection of the highways After some time Rāja Jai Singh, protector of the State, too, took leave and proceeded towards Thūn, the stronghold of the accused Churāman. He sent for 40,000 *suwār* and a larger of number *piyāda* from his *watan* and the *mahāls* of his *zamīndāri* and having obtained them hurriedly reached the *ta'lluqa* of Thūn and laid siege to it The accursed Chūrāman arranged to offer resistance inside the fort and appointed Mulhkam Singh, his son, and Rūpa, his nephew, with a large army to fight the Rājā outside the fort Thus did he raise disturbances within the limits of his own *ta'alluqa-i-zamīndāri* and incited the plunders to devastate the royal territory and to prevent communications on the highway

Rāja Jai Singh *Suwāi* closely invested the fort On the four sides of it were sky-high ramparts encircled with a ditch as deep as the nether water and with a jungle of thorny bushes so dense as to make it difficult even for birds to penetrate. After

cutting down the trees round the fort the Rāja erected new batteries entrusting each to an active group and thus he opened the battle The aforesaid Chūrāman, having admitted ten to twelve thousand warriors from amongst the Sansanis, into the fort of Thūn, in addition to his own men, prepared to give battle When the army of Rāja Jai Singh *Sawāi* arrived to attack the fort, his son Muhkam and his nephew Rūpa advanced to oppose him, and in fact, they beat him back In this conflict many men of both sides perished or were wounded. Rāja Jai Singh *Sawāi* kept powerful contingents by turns on duty in each direction, and himself, accompanied by a large force and leaders of renown, rode out on an elephant day and night (in succession). He kept constantly ready 3,000 draft camels and 2,000 carts, besides a number of mules, bullocks, buffaloes and mounted with large water bags (*pakhāls*) Whenever water was required for the purpose of building the batteries and walls around the fort of Thūn, the camels, carts, bullocks and buffaloes were sent with the water bags, they would empty a tank in a stretch, and filling the bags bring them and discharge the water at the required spot

Sayyid Khān Jahān, the refuge of dignity the maternal uncle (*tughā*) of Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān, who held the *mansab* of 5,000 *Zat*/5000 *suwār*, and was deputed to assist[45] the said Rāja, set himself to great exertions in the battle. Bāyazīd Khān[46] who had been a trusted follower of Chūrāman separated himself from the latter, came and had a interview with Rāja Jai Singh *Sawāi* who held out to him hopes of obtaining *mansab* from His Majesty and appointed him to (command) the vanguard (*harāwal*) of his army and, in fact, put him in charge of an entrenchment which was a difficult one

A world-conquering cannon,[47] which was one of the good imperial cannons and which shot balls each weighing one Shāhjāhānī maund, was placed at the disposal of the aforesaid Rāja by the illustrious sovereign The order had the ornamentation of being issued that the mainstays of nobility, Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān, should transport the aforesaid cannon from Palwal and take it to the aforesaid Rāja and obtain a receipt from him When the above mentioned cannon

reached Palwal under the protection of imperial troops the above noted Khāns, after giving a receipt carried it to Hodal Meanwhile in accordance with the royal orders the protector of nobility, Sayyid Nusart Khān Bahādur,[48] the Deputy-Governor (*Nā'ib-i-āzim*) of the *Sūba* of Akbarābād (Agra) arrived at Hodal, took charge of the cannon and delivered it to the afore-named Rājā Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān returned to Palwal from Hodal and engaged themselves as before in protecting and guarding the highway.

As the control and authority of Chūrāman was exceedingly strong in that region, the *zamīndārs, ra'yā* and the inhabitants of that district cooperated themselves with him, raised disturbances, became the source of discomfort and trouble for the travellers and wayfarers and took to plundering the villages and the towns Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān the guardians and protectors of the highway used to escort the caravans from Hodal, their own jurisdiction, to Faridabad and from Faridabad to Hodal About this time there arrived at Hodal a caravan of merchants carrying with them 1300 carts full of clarified butter (*Raughan-i-zard*) and other articles of merchandise The general rule was that the leaders of the caravan would sent to the aforesaid Khān prior information of the departure so that they could escort it with their troops As (on this occasion) the merchants had with them about 1,000 matchlock-men, relying upon them, they did not inform the said Khāns and set out from Palwal When they arrived about two *kuroh* on the other side of Hodal, a band of robbers (*ghārat garān*) surrounded the whole of the caravan, and allowed not one of them to escape so as to give information to the Khāns The musketeers who had accompained the merchants threw away their arms on the very first attack of the plunderers and ran away Thereafter, the Jāts and other robbers plundered the caravan and carried the carts along with the merchandise to the neighbouring villages, and divided the spoils among themselves Property of the value of nearly 20 lacs of rupee was' plundered As soon as Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān heard of this incident, they immediately reached the place with their troops, but as the neighbouring

villages were in the *jāgīrs* of *Qutbu'l-mulk Yamīnu'd-daulāh* 'Abdullāh Khān and His Majesty's protege *Samsāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-dauran Bahādur*, Sanjar Khān fell into suspense and did not venture to attempt anything

In that year from the beginning of the rainy season there were want[49] of rain, and not a drop of water fell on earth from the sky, and it did not rain till the end of the year The price of grains shot up The grains which were sold at the rate of 20 *seers pukhta* per rupee gradually fell to 4 *seers* per rupee and even less than that. The creatures of God suffered much trouble and hardship. There was all round confusion Many repaired to jungles and collecting the leaves and blossoms of the *Karial*, boiled them and subsisted on the same After sometime when even these became scarce, deaths started Every day there died from starvation about one hundred persons in the villages and towns Many abandoned their hearth and home and migrated to other places Many of them sold their wives and children for a pittance and several of them parted with them for nothing, but to feed themselves

Sanjar Khān,[50] the sentinel of the high road of Palwal every day loudly proclaimed (his offer of relief) and distributed every day with his own hands, 2,000 *tankas* of *fuluz-i-siyah* (copper coins) among the indigent and destitute Next year there was some rainfall towards the end of the rainy season, and with the help of Providence, wild grass grew in abundnace In the forests a kind of a wild millet (*shāmakh*) shot up so profusely that the people of that region, big or small, went daily to forest and collected as much as each of them could bring, and thus gave themselves some energy. During these two years of disturbances caused by famine, Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* used to obtain corn etc from his *watan* and the *mahālāt* of his *zamīndārī*, and out of that he gave daily to the soldiers in his army, each according to his requirement. Thus no one in the Rājā's army was affected by the high prices or famine

Before the fight had commenced, when the aforesaid Chūrāman received the information that Rājā Jai Singh had

been deputed against him, that he would arrive shortly and open siege of Thūn, he sent word to the local merchants and businessmen (*mahājanān wa beopāriān*) asking them to go out of Thūn with their woman and children abandoning their poperty and wealth where it was. (He held out the promise) that if victory fell to the imperial arms they would get nothing of it, but if he was enabled to perpetuate his hold, he would return their property and wealth in full As the properties amounted to many lakhs it was not possible to take them to other places, and therefore, the traders and merchants (*mahājanān wa beopāriān*) agreed to the proposal and abandoning their wealth they came out all alone and went to other places. At this Chūrāman remarked to his own men "with present arrangements at our disposal, if war breaks out, we should be able to support ourselves for several years with the help of all these provisions" Thereupon the accountants took stock of the grains, sugar, salt, oil, fire-wood, tobacco, and cloth, and all other essential commodities, and when the calculation was completed, it was found that the supplies would suffice for 20 years

WAQĀ'I'. As the fighting prolonged to 20 months the accursed Chūrā through letters and messages approached *'Umdatu'l-mulk, Madāru'l-mahāmm*, 'Abdullāh Khān, offered him 50 lacs of rupees besides 30 lacs of rupees as *peshkash* to the Imperial Government. Thus he made the above mentioned Khān as his protector The said Khān submitted a representation to His Majesty saying that the campaign had dragged on for 20 months and up to date no decisive results had been obtained and God alone knew how long it would drag on, forty lacs of rupees had been given to Rājā Jai Singh for this purpose and 50 thousands were being spent to meet the monthly pay of the detachment of Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān, the sentinels of the highway of Palwal. The money which had been given to Rājā Jai Singh had already been spent on his soldiers, and he had sent requisition for more help. The agent of the accursed Chūrā had (come and) requested that his faults be forgiven so that he could present himself before His Majesty with his wife, son, and brother's son and do as order-ed, and he has accepted 3 lacs of rupees as *peshkash* to His

Majesty to be deposited into the imperial treasury as soon as ordered. In deference to the request of 'Abdullāh Khān his proposal was approved and accepted An order was issued that Sayyid Khān Jahān Bahādur be written that after giving a word of honour, he should bring Chūrā, his sons, his brothers and his nephew to the Court Instructions were also issued that a *farmān* be issued to Rājā Jai Singh directing him to withdraw his hand from all punitive and destructive activities against him (Chūrā) and to refrain from interference with the latter's affairs and asking him (the Rāja) to repair to the (Imperial) Court Therefore, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, in accordance with the royal command, wrote under his own seal and signature a letter to his uncle Sayyid Khān Jahān about giving a word of honour to Chūrā and escorting him to the Court, the symbol of benevolence Similarly a dignified *farmān* was issued to Rājā Jai ,Singh *Sawāi* informing him about the pardon granted to Chūrā and asking him to [desist from further destruction of the] latter's (property) and inflicting losses on him These were despatched through mace-bearers

The substance of the *hasbul-hukm* issued under the seal of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān to Sayyid Khān Jahān, according to the royal command is as follows

"The gracious *Nawwāb* of lofty title, friendly and kind, may you remain well and safe After offering due regards and profession of desire of meeting (you), the embodiment of all qualities, it is submitted for the enlightenment of the clear mind that Chūrā Jāt has resorted to His Majesty, the lord of the world, for the pardon of his offences and has sought protection. Out of mercy and kindness (of the sovereign), his prayer has been granted and the hand of promise has been [extended to him *panja wa qaul ba ū marhamat shud* The royal order has been] issued, that this slave of the threshold, which is as lofty as the sky, should write a *nishān* (to Your Highness), conveying the royal order, that after consoling Chūrā, his sons, brothers, and brother's sons and having executed with them *panja* and *qaul* (treaty and agreement) you should escort them with safety and security from within the fort of Thūn and conduct them to

the Court Greatest care should be taken to see that no one places any obstacle before them or interferes with them and their belongings I expect that having acted according to royal orders and made a compact with them through *panja* and *qaul* your Highness would bring them to the Court, and would take care and see that no body interfers with them and their properties. Little to add beyond an apology for the trouble."

The substance of the contents of the exalted *farmān* which was addressed to Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* is ·

The defender of Authority and Government, prop of strength and bravery, the most excellent of the illustrious Rājā, the sincerest of the faithful ones, the pillar of the State, friend of the Empire; may the grace of God be on him Let it not be hidden (from him) that the exertions of his braveself in punishing and destroying Chūrā Jāt have in minuteness and details been reported to His August Majesty. By the grace of God that accursed band has undergone punishment and chastisement in the manner as has been heartily desired. The way in which the rules and regulations of law and order have been observed by his heroic-self and other of his notables have been clearly revealed "Only you could have performed such deeds, only the braves do that way" Now, that accursed one having put the marks of contrition of his forehead, has sought protection from us and has supplicated for the pardon of his offences, and the protection on his life and property Accordingly, *panja* and *qaul* have been sent to him It behoves him (Rājā) who is worthy of favours and beneficence to pacify and console him and send him to the Court Although his crimes did not meet such consideration, since His Gracious Majesty is the dispenser of mercy and kindness, and moreover, as he has thrown himself upon his (Majesty's) protection and supplicated for the safety and security of his life, his crimes have been overlooked and he has been given promise and word of honour (*qaul-wa-panja*). It now behoves him (Rājā) the pillar of the State, to refrain from interfering with his affairs and desist from inflicting punishment on him

WAQĀ'I' · When the exalted *farmān* of such contents addressed to Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*, and a *hasbu'l-hukm* under

the seal of *'Umdatu'l-mulk*, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, addressed to Sayyid Khān Jahān, had the honour of being issued Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* came forward steadily and received the *farmān* placed it on his illustrious head, and of obedience carried out the instructions of His Majesty as contained in the exalted *farmān* He recalled his men from the entrenchments, and stopped punishing and chastising him Sayyid Khān Jahān, the uncle of Sayyid 'Abdullāh khān, in accordance with the royal instuctions addressed himself to the task of consoling and comforting the accursed Chūrā The above mentioned came out of the fort of Thūn alone with his sons and nephew, waited upon the Rājā and Sayyid khān Jahān and presented them two 'Irāqī and Arab horses He took Sayyid khān Jahān inside the fort of thūn, showed him all the provisions and materials (of food) and then set out in company with the Sayyid (Khān Jahān), along with his sons, and nephew towards the Imperial metropolis of Shāhjahānābād Sayyid Khān Jahān took Chūraman with the above mentioned ones to the Court The said Chūrā through the above mentioned Sayyid, received audience with His Majesty, presented 1 000 *Ashrafīs* (*gold muhrs*) and was favoured with a *Khil'at* Muhkam Singh, his son, and Rūpa his brother's son presented 500, *Asharafis* each as *peshkash* and received *Khil'at*

WAQ'I' From the reports of the *harkārās* of *Sūba* Patna revealed to His Majesty that the defender of the State, Sarbaland Khān,[52] the *Nāzim* of that place (Patna) had led an expedition against the stronghold of Dhir,[53] a *Zamīndār* of that locality, who had raised the head of insurrection and revolt and had seized several *mahāls* of the *Khalisā sharīfā* and had engaged himself in oppressing and injuring travellers and wayfarers in many ways He (Sarbaland Khān) rushed to the spot and making forced marches reached there in three days and nights The hapless Dhīr being unable to offer resistance took to flight and that nobleman, protector of the State, pursued him Eventually, the wretched Dhīr driven to a state of disgrace and infamy as a result of the onslaught by the Imperial forces, felt distressed at his abject condition and finding annihilation to be inevitable died broken-hearted.

WAQĀ'I': Jai Singh *Sawāi* came from Thūn, accompanied by his troops, and arrived at the capital. When it was reported to the Emperor he ordered that *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-daurān Bahādur, Manṣūr Jang* should advance to receive the Rājā and bring him to the royal presence *Samṣāmu'd-daulah* along with great nobles and *Manṣabdārs* went as far as Bāra Pula and escorted the Rājā to the Court where he had audience with His Majesty, offered a *nazr* (present) of 1,000 *Ashrafis*. He was favoured with the robe of honour (*khil'at-i-khāṣa*) of six pieces of cloth, and elephant, a horse, a pearl necklace, and an embroidered headdress (*sarpech*).

WAQĀ'I' After some time had passed in this way Muhammad Murād,[64] a high Government Official, holding the post of *Mir-Tūzak*, being pushed forward by luck and with the assistance of good fortune became the recipient of unbounded favours at the hand of the Master of the world and the blessed King of universe He was admitted to royal privacy and gained access to the secrets of the State. His Majesty in his extreme kindness promoted him to the rank of 7,000z/7,000s *yak aspa du aspa* conferred upon him 30 royal elephants, 50 'Irāqī and Arab horses with beautiful gold and silver enamelled saddles, 500 special robes each of six pieces of cloth, precious stones, 50 lacs of rupees in cash, a special *Jahāngiri* bed, a select *jāgir* from the *Ṣūba* of Gujarat, the capital Shāhjahānābād and Akbarābād (Agra) and he was ennobled with the title of *I'tiqād Khān, Ruknu'd-daulāh, Farrukhshāhī* Thus was elevated his rank and status Whenever the aforesaid Khān attended the Court he was distinguished with the grant of fresh favours and boundless generosity

One day, the said Khān entered the *Diwān-i-khas* and had the honour of bowing to His Majesty The Khān was wearing a bejewelled ring on his finger When the suspicious eye of His Mejesty fell on it (the ring,) he beckoned the aforsaid noble to come near him, and looked at the ring closely I'tiqād Khān took off the ring from his finger and placed it before His Majesty. The Emperor ordered that the precious royal rings be brought from the *Jawāhir Khana* (jewel house). Those standing by the foot of the throne brought ten to twelve trays full of rings

set with preciouss stones His Majesty having called the above-mentioned Khān to his side said "Spread your skirt". and he did so The Emperor filling both his hands with bejewelled rings threw the jewelled rings several times into the Khān's skirt Although the courtiers represented that it was against the rule and etiquette of sovereignty to exalt the rank to this extent in a single stretch and place absolute trust in one of the attendants all at once, the Emperor considering these objections as prejudiced and out of malice paid no heed to them

Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and other courtiers were displeased and they withdrew their devotions and good wishes (from the affairs of the State) After a few days the Emperor at the suggestion of sycophants sent word to ('Abdullāh Khān) saying that Chūrā Jāt is a source of mischief and Ratan Chand[55] interfers with the royal affairs and 'therefore' the Khān should deliver both of them to the Government (*sarkār-i-wālā*) The said Khān submitted that he had brought Chūrā Jāt by giving him *panja* and *qaul*, in accordance with His Majesty's orders and that Ratan Chand was his servant and had nothing to do with the affairs of the State (*sarkār-i-wālā*) He added if ordered he would send Chūraman Jāt safely back to his home and would dismiss Ratan Chand from his service As the said Khān did not act according to the royal orders the Emperor felt angry and the association of the Khān with His Majesty was severed In fact, His Majesty began to plan to seize 'Abdullāh Khān and put him to death, but it did not materialize it [56]

One day he kept some of the special slaves/troopers (*qolan*) fully armed, concealed in a part of the *Diwān-i-khās* and ordered them that as soon as they received a signal they should seize the person of the Khān and if he offered any resistance, they should kill him *Samsāmu'ud-daulāh, Khān-i-dauran Bahadur*, who was close to the Emperor was privy to this secret, as he was the *Dārogha* (superintendent) of the *Diwān-i-khas* His Majesty came out from the inner apartment of the palace, and adorned the *Diwān-i-khās*, with his presence, *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* was present there. It was submitted to the Emperor that, 'Abdullāh Khān was coming to pay his respects.

The Emperor said "Let him come". When the Khān, attended by some of his followers, entered the *Diwān-i-khāṣ* and paid his respects, *Samsāmu'-d-daulāh, Khān-i-daurān Bahādur* was ordered to give the signal to the *qol* The latter in consideration of the high Sayyid lineage of 'AbdullāhKhān as well as his innocence, cried aloud *qūr* (armed retinue) As the (man of the) royal *Qūr* was known to 'Abdullāh Khān and was present there, he entered the *Diāwn-i-khāṣ*. The change in the the signal by the substitution of *Qūr* for *qol* frustrated the plot). In sheer disgust His Majesty left the place. On another occasion His Majesty expressed his displeasure to *Samsāmu'd-daulāh*. When 'Abdullāh Khān came to know about the affair he expressed thanks for having escaped with his life, and considered himself under obligations to the *Khān-i-daurān* for the same

WAQ.I'I' As the aforesaid 'Abdullāh Khān carried away by feelings of distrust and suspicion kept himself away from the Court and wrote to his brother *Amīru'l-umarā'* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur, the *Nāzim* of the *Sūbās* of the Deccan An account of the situation, summary of the contents (of the letter) is (produced) as under

"My very dear brother, the emblem of prestige and luck, peace be on you After wishing you a long life, let it be known to you that recently some persons having ingratiated themslves into the favours of His Majesty have turned His Majesty's mind against me Chūrā Jāt, having entrenched himself in his house had strengthened his fortifications Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*, the protector of the State, besieged him with forty to fifty thousand horse and a larger number of footmen for a year and half. A sum of two crores of rupees was spent for this task from the royal exchequer And yet it was the first day (the campaign was fruitless) As the aforesaid Jāt sent petition promising to pay 30 lacs of rupees as *peshkash* supplicating for pardon of his offences and security of his life this humble self was ordered that he should summon him after giving him a word of honour (*qaul wa panja*); and that Rājā Jai Singh should refrain from inflicting punishment on him. This well-wisher of the people, in accordance with the royal command,

summoned him (Chūrā) after giving him *qaul-wa-panja* and stopped the aforesaid Rājā from inflicting punishment to him. Accordingly, Chūrā accompanied by his sons, brother, and nephews came to the Court, and paid into royal treasury the stipulated *peshkash* (*wajh-i-peshkash*) All of them appeared before His Majesty with folded hands and gathered bliss. Now, at the instigation of selfish and designing persons an order has been issued (to me) to hand over Chūrā Jāt, the source of mischief, and Ratan Chand, my personal employee who is accused of interfering with the imperial affairs. Although I have replied that it was in obedience to royal orders that I had summoned Chūrā Jāt by giving him *qaul wa panja* and that Ratan Chand is my servant, and he has nothing to do with (the affairs of) the Government (*sarkār-i wālā*) but that if so desired I would send Chūrā Jāt safely back to his home and discharge Ratan Chand from my service, (but of no avail). All this unnecessary misunderstanding (bitterness) is not free from complication and mischief On the top of it this humble self is apprehensive of his life Therefore, this humble-self has withdrawn himself (from the Court) and has collected soldiers for protection a force of 30 thousands horse, and a similar number of foot has been recruited In addition there is the support of the brethren and friends from amongst the Sayyids of Bārha Now there is no pleasure left The arrival of that brother, the symbol of luck is absolutely necessary It behoves him that on the mere receipt of this letter he should with all swiftness and haste arrive here along with adequate troops He should allow no hesitation or delay."

WAQĀ'I' His Majesty, the shadow of God, Vicegerent of the All Merciful, entertained the idea in his mind and considered it expedient to summon to his presence Nizāmu'l-mulk[57] *alias* Chīn Qlīch Khān Bahādur, son of the late Ghāzīud-din Khān, who held the *faujdāri* of the *Sarkar* of Muradabad and was both a soldier and an administrator, and to appoint him to the office of the *wizārat* The exalted *farmān*, summoning Nizāmu'l-mulk was accordingly issued Leaving a permanent deputy (*nāib*) he reached the imperial presence as per summon The following is the summary of the contents of the *farmān* ·

"Let it be known to the protector of authority and Government, the support of courage and prestige; the mainstay of the great *Khilāfat*; the confidant of the Empire, the chosen of the sincere and faithful, the essence of far-seeing friends; who may hope for kindness and attention that there are certain matters which cannot be revealed till the arrival of that emblem of power. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for that pillar of the State to repair forthwith to the illustrious Court Moreover, as full two years have passed since we have not seen that nobleman of high status, therefore, on receipt of the exalted *farmān* he should proceed with a respectable following, after leaving there his permanent *nā'ib* (deputy) and conduct himself to the Court with all haste "

WAQĀ'I' : When Niẓāmu'l-mulk arrived[58] at the (Court with his large contingent, and had the honour of being granted an audience he was favoured with the grant of special robe and a jewelled *sarpech* His Majesty offered him the *wizārat*. As Niẓāmu'l-mulk was a highly cautious and an extremely far-seeing man and as he observed the unruliness and disorder prevailing in the Court of the prop of the world, he did not accept the offer. When His Majesty found that Niẓāmu'l-mulk was not agreeable he sent for Sarbaland Khān, protector of the State and Government, the Nāẓim of Patna, for this purpose The following is the substance of the contents of *farmān* which was sent to summon him —

"Let that emblem of courage and bravery, the cream of high-placed nobility, chief of the sincerest ones, and the most faithful friend, of great dignity, Sarbaland Khān Bahādur, being hopeful of special favours and generous regard of the King of kings, know that certain matters, the management of which is dependent upon the arrival at Court of that emblem of power have taken place The arrival of that guardian of power and nobility is, (therefore), necessary beyond measure Moreover, the affairs of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa have been for a long time in a bad state, and for the administration of (those regions) it is necessary to consult and seek advice of the farsighted one Therefore, it is being written that he should considering himself Incharge of that place as before, and

leaving there a permanent *nā'ib* (deputy) proceed in this direction with a suitable Contingent (*jam'iyat-i-shā'ista*) and reach this place with all haste In this matter he should not permit any delay

WAQĀ'I' : Sarbaland Khān Bahādur also carrying out the royal orders left a *Nā'ib* at Patna and came to the Court,[59] with 50,000 horse and a larger number of foot, gathered the honour of kissing the ground, and was favoured and ennobled with a grant of a special robe, and an embroidered headderss (*sarpech-i-murassa'*) His Majesty himself communicated to the said Khān the offer of the office of the *wizārat*. When this nobleman went to the residence of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khan the latter made a statement to the effect that the *wizārat* is the price of his head, it can belong to that man who takes this head Sarbaland Khān on hearing these words declined the offer 'Abdullāh Khān also told the aforesaid Khān "I am a friend of yours, by maintaining the troops you would face inconvenience and trouble, it is expedient to disperse them. Sarbaland Khān, realising the state of affairs, returned to his house and at once dismissed the troops and gave them leave to go But the (discharged) soldiers created a row demanding their pay Ultimately they dispersed after appropriating the property and other articles of the aforesaid Khān against their say

WAQĀ'I' When the flame of the mischief began to burn fiercely and the displeasure of the reigning sovereign towards Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān became a well known affair, deeming it expedient His Majesty set out on a hunting excursion and sent word to 'Abdullāh Khān that on his way back he would pay a visit[60] to his house and see him The said Khān made a platform of a lakh of rupees and kept his persents and offerings ready for the Emperor After recreations and hunting the Emperor repaired to the residence of the Khan. The Khān accorded him a respectful reception performed his obeisance, seated the Emperor on the platform made of a *lākh* of rupees, and presented him ten trays full of jewels, five elephants, ten horses, and nine trays of pieces of cloth The Emperor gave him the special robe which he had on his body

together with an embroidered headdress (*sarpech-i-muraṣṣ'a*) as gift in (*in'ām*); and with a variety of favours and sweet words he took his meal there and taking rest in the house of 'Abdullāh Khān for one full *pahr* His Majesty returned to the Palace. Although apparently he removed all the discords and disagreements in reality their mutual hatred remained (as before)

Verses . Like the hour glass they were joined together ; their hearts full of dust but their faces all clean.

WAQĀ'I' · When *Amīru'l-umarā* Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bahādur learnt in the Deccan from the letter of 'Abdullāh Khān of this disturbance, he left[61] Sayyid 'Alam 'Alī Khān, his hephew, whom he regarded as his son, along with his kinsmen (*mardum-i-qābā'il*) and all his belongings, treasury, and furniture (*kārkhānājāt*) in the Deccan, and having allied himself to the impious (*bad-kēshān*) *Deccanis* and having mobilized a large army from among that vile group[62] set out with a huge army and abundant guns for the capital Shāhjahānābād. On the way he adorned an elephant, put a canopy on it, with a curtain drawn on all its four sides, and appointed a separate contingent to accompapy it and gave out that the elephant was carrying a son of prince[63] Muhammad Akbar who had been captured by Rājā Sāhū who made him over to him The proecssion passed along the road like the procession of a prince with royal dignity; and at night the high nobles mounted guard round it, while moving on the road two persons sitting behind the canopy waved peacock fans

The *Amīru'l-umarā* then forwarded a despatch to His Majesty the lord of universe and *Khilāfat* It was placed before the illustrious sovereign. It read as follows "Rājā Sāhū, the *Zamīndār* of the *Sūba* of the Deccan, had captured the son of Muhammad Akbar who had been wandering in that neighbourhood, and had made him over to him, after taking a pledge that none make any attempt at this life and that he would be lodged in the royal fort with other prisoners He also extracted a promise and agreement from this humble servant of the royal thereshold that in lieu of this service, the mother and brother of that well-wisher (Rājā Sahū) who had been in con-

finement in the fort since the time of his late Majesty, *Khuld Makān* (Aurangzeb) would be released. This humble, on his part, after giving word of honour and consent, took over charge of the prince, and is proceeding towards the Court."

As the will of God is supreme and above all things, His Majesty had forgotten the recent happenings, and believed whatever *Amiru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān had written. (On the other hand) the farsighted advisers and sincere well-wishers urged upon His Majesty and impressed upon him that the coming of the *Amiru'l-umarā* from the Deccan without the imperial order was not without some mischievous designs; therefore, the necessity of the situation demanded that one of His Majesty's great nobles should be despatched with a *farmān* deserving of respect and directing him to convey the *farmān* and not to allow him (*Amir'l-umarā*) to proceed to the Court, but make him return to the Deccan from whatever place the latter has reached, and bring the Prince into His Majesty's presence. His Majesty selected for this, (task) Ikhlās Khān[64] who held the *mansab* of 5000z/5000s (*panj hazārī-i-panj hazār suwār*) and was one of the nobles of the time of *Khuld Makān*, and also had close companionship with the *Amiru'l-umarā*, and also sent him with *do sad suwar 200 manṣubdāri-i-walashahi* besides his own retinue with an illustrious *farmān* addressed to Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur, a special robe was conferred on him. The following are the details (*sharh*) of the *farmān*.

"To the high dignitary of the Empire and the State, famous for bravery and courage, the best of the pure family; the choice representative of the house of Prophet, the cream of the farsighted sincere ones, the noblest of the faithful servants of the Crown, the illustrious Khān, the brother of great dignity, full of kindness (*'atufat nishān*), *Amiru'l umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur may the blessings and favours of Almighty God be on him. The representation sent by him announcing his departure and journey to the Court, the refuge of the world, along with a son of prince Muhammad Akbar, was duly received and read. Regarding the request of Rājā Sāhū for the release of his mother and brother from captivity and the

protection of the Prince from any attempt on his life, and also the suggestion of keeping him in confinement among the State prisoners according to the time honoured practice whatever he (*Amiru'l-umarā*) had submitted is now known in all its details and has been accepted. In matters in which a man of his noble and dignified stature, has spoken (recommended) is there any possibility of going against the same, or of any deviation ? Whatever agreement and pact the '*Umdatu'l-mulk* (Husain Alī Khān) has made with Rājā Sāhū that is confirmed and approved. Although this matter was very important, and the coming of the (person) of brave stature with such a great captive was necessary; and on the top of it our desire of seeing him (Husain 'Alī Khān) was exceedingly strong; yet the management and administration of the affairs of the territory of the Deccan specially vests in the "*Umdatu'l-mulk* who has taken pains of travelling and it might happen that the ill-natured *Deccaisn* might take undue advantage (of the premise) create disturbance and throw that region into confusion. As the entire attention and design and just intentions of our royal Majesty are directed towards good government and peace of the creatures of God of those regions, concern for which is uppermost in our hearts, therefore, expediency demands that the pillar of the State, should return to the Deccan from whichever place he may arrive at and apply himself to the management and direction of the affairs of that country Certain matters and motives will be communicated orally to him by Ikhlās Khān, the brave and courageous grandee who has been deputed especially for this purpose It behoves him to act accordingly and make over to the above mentioned Khān the aforesaid captive and obtain from him a receipt having (the impression of) his seal With regard to Rājā Sāhū and his dependents (family members) and other matters on which he wishes to address us, any suggestion that may be made by him, the best of the race and renowned for bravery, will receive our royal consent, and there would be no departure from it even to the hair's breadth After giving leave to the aforesaid prince with Ikhlās Khān and after submitting his demands (*matālib-i-khud*) he should depart for the Deccan with utmost expedition from whichever place he

might have arrived at, and making journey speedily; stage by stage reach there This should be treated as most urgent. Nothing else to write "

WAQA'I' Ikhlās Khān, having received orders to depart with the lofty *farmān*, set out to meet the *Amīru'l-umarā* Proceeding with all possible speed and expedition the aforesaid reached the province of Malwa As *Amīru'l-umarā* Ḥusain 'Ali Khān Bahādur had arrived the above menitoned *Sūba* from the other side (the south) with his 50,000 horse and a larger number of foot a meeting took place between the two The *Bakhshiu'l-mamalik Amiru'l-umarā'* stood up to receive the *farmān* with due honour put it gracefully on the crown of his head and performed the customary salutations before it. He immediately wrote an[65] *'arzdāsht* (petition) in reply to the *farmān* and sent it through Ikhlas Khān to Shājahānābād

Arzdasht The humblest of Your Majesty's faithful servant the *Amiru'l-umarā*, after rendering the duty of obeisance and salutation, begs to submit to the attendants of the foot of the throne of your Royal Majesty of Soloman-like grandeur and of the status of Faridun, that the lofty *farmān* equal to divine decree, addressed to this humblest of Your Majesty's servants, has had the honour of being arrived The humbleself after rendering due respect and according it due welcome placed it on his forehead and thus raised his (own) distinction and status It had been ordered that this faithful attendant should return to the Deccan from whatever place he might have arrived and engage himself in organising and controlling the affairs of that province, that he should hand over the son of prince Muhammad Akbar to Ikhlās Khān and take an acknowledgement from him, and further that with regard to Rājā Sāhū and his relatives whatever representations he would make would be acted upon and there would be no difference or deviation of even as much as a hair's breadth All this has enabld the devoted servant of Your Majesty, to obtain honour and distinction. May there be peace on Your Majesty, the lord of the universe and its people. Although the coming of Your Majesty's devoted servant towards the threshold of celestial splendour without Your Majesty's orders, was contrary to the etiquette and rules

of service, but as there were certain matters connected with that region which had to be personally submitted to your bountiful Majesty and there was a noble captive in his custody. Your Majesty's devoted slave, was not satisfied in regard to any of them Therefore, of necessity; leaving a permanent deputy with a suitable retinue in that country, he set out for the royal threshold, the emblem of benevolence On arrival in Malwa (he) received the exalted *farmān* sent through Ikhlāṣ Khān containing instructions regarding the return of this humble self to the Deccan Your slave desired to act according to Your Majesty's orders and wanted to return that way, but the agents of Rājā Sāhū who had behaved very well, rendered meritorious service by surrendering the person of the son of Prince Muhammad Akbar; and were accompanying this slave of the threshold in large numbers, did not let him do so They entreated and represented that "there was no prospect of the liberation of the relatives of Rājā Sāhū unless you are present at the Court" Indeed, this had been agreed to before If this devoted-self breaks his promise and returns according to His Majesty's order, all those who are acompanying him and have fully co-operated may consider it as breach of faith and may become moody and resentful Therefore, considering it contrary to expediency he did not return Moreover, as the desire of paying his respects to His Majesty had passed the limits of endurance of this devoted servant and as there was only a short distance to cover, he has set out for the threshold of the celestial Court, and God willing, he would very soon arrive at the footstool of the throne, lofty as heaven, and having made over the royal prisoner to the imperial *mutasaddīs* and submitted his humble address regarding the affairs of country (*muqaddamāt wa mutālabāt-i-ān mulk*), this humble slave, would return to the place in his charge (*Sūba* of the Deccan) To add anything more would be beyond the requirements of respect".

WAQĀ'I' 'Abdullāh Khān on account of farsightedness and villainy thought, that it would not be desirable that Sarbaland Khān, Niẓāmu'l-mulk, and Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāī* who are principal nobles and hereditary servants of the Empire (*khānazād-i-bādshāhi*) should remain at the Court; and; therefore, they should be sent outside on some pretext and orders

(*parwānajāt*) should be sent to them (to this effect) Accor ingly, he represented to His Majesty that in the imperi territory there are two large provinces, one of them is *Sūi* Malwa and the other is *Sūba* Kabul, which is on the fronti of Hindustān, both of which are without governors, and th rebellions and disturbances were rife in them, and, therefor (he suggested of) these nobles, Sarbaland Khān and Nizāmu mulk, one should be sent to Kabul, and the other to Malw His Majesty approved of the suggestion, and designated Sarb land Khan to the charge of the *subādāri* of Kabul, ai Nizāmu'l-mulk to Malwa to undertake the administration the *subās* After presenting the robes of honour (*khil'a, khāsa*) and an elephant to each of them as *in'ām* they we ordered to leave Sarbaland Khān, after making arrang ments set out[66] for Kabul, and Nizāmu'l-mulk[67] Chīn Qilic Khān Bahādur, too engaged himself in collecting the essent als needed for the journey As Nizāmu'l-mulk was an ol sensible and far-seeing noble and he entertained other anxieti in his mind, he took with him his whole family and his tribesma leaving none of his household goods or property behind H issued individual instructions to his attendants and soldie to mobilize with them their tribesmen and not to leave anythir whatsoever behind So did it happen All his soldiers an fellow travellers took their tribesmen and properties along wit them

WAQI' *Amiru'l-umarā* Husain 'Ali Khān Bahādı accompanied by a large army and numerous guns arrive within 10 *kuroh* of the capital A large number of grea nobles and powerful *mansabdars* went out to receive him H Majesty sent Zafar Khān Bahādur[68] with a message t Amiru'l-umarā to the effect that he should send to the Cour the son of Prince Muhammad Akbar who had come with hir before he presented himself to His Majesty. As in realit there was no such person and the *Amiru'l-umarā* Husain 'A Khān Bhahādur, had taken recourse to a deceitful trick h returned the answer that on the day after tomorrow,[69] which i auspicious for kissing the feet, the slave of His Majesty woul himself bring the Prince with him, and deliver him to th officials of the *Sarkār* and obtain receipt

WAQĀ'I'. 'Abdullāh Khan (then) represented that the *Amīru'l-umarā* was bringing an important prisoner before His Majesty, and he would have the honour of kissing His Majesty's feet, but Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*[70], who is present at the Court, was on bad terms with that nobleman, and as the Rājā had his own Rajput followers, and with *Amīru'l-umarā Bahādur* the *Deccanis* had come let order be issued to Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* to leave and go to his *watan* lest some trouble should arise betwen them His Majesty in his open-heartedness and simplicity of mind accepted the proposal and wrote a letter to the Rājā with his signatures and sent it with a robe of honour and an embroidered headdress to his residence with the message urging on the Rājā to set out without delay

The summary of the content of the letter is· "Protector of the Empire and the State, for certain reasons expediency demands that noble of high stature should leave tomorrow, which is an auspicious day, for his *watan* and engage himself in the management of the *mahālāt* belonging to him. We have, therefore, given him permission to depart and have sent a robe of honour, a gold head-ornament and (thus) sent permission for departure Therefore, now he should not wait for further instructions to depart, but by all means set out tomorrow We wish him well".

WAQĀ'I' Although the said Rājā[71] repeatedly urged upon the Emperor that all this is a diabolical design of his enemies and that it is not expedient for his humble slave to separate himself from His Majesty's feet but the demand of the situation is that His Majesty come out, of the fort and pitch his camp outside (the fort) the devoted slave is in attendance upon the auspicious stirrup none would dare to draw his breath. As it was destined (the suggestion) was not at all accepted or approved and found no place in His Majesty's blessed mind In sheer helplessness the aforsaid Rājā marched out next morning[72] before sun-rise, towards his *watan*

WAQĀ'I'· Early next morning, after one *pahr* of the day had passed, *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur in defiance of traditional etiquette and rules of conduct entered the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād beating his drums, and the vile *Deccanis*

accompanying the *Amīru'l-umarā*, at the time of entering the city began to plunder the property of men on the street and in the market. Outside the town they destroyed and trampled without any scruple or compunction the cultivated fields. The insolent conduct and behaviour of the *Amīru'l-umarā* and the impropriety and villainy of his followers and companions were reported to His Majesty, but His Majesty overlooked them, his one concern being to get hold of the person of the important prisoner His Majesty did not give ear to any complaint or representation

On that day the *Amīru'l-umarā* entered the city, he alighted in his own mansion and did not go into the fort, but sent a message saying that the following day being auspicious, the devoted servant of the threshold, would have the good fortune of presenting himself in the Court. (He added) that most of the *Deccani* chiefs who were accompanying him would also like to seek the audience of His Majesty, but as they are afarid of entering the fort because of the imperial administration and are watching the situation, it is hoped that the internal administration of the fort would be entrusted to his humble-self for two days Now as the will of God surpasses all thoughts and devices the Emperor consented and entrusted [73] to him the supervision of the fort As soon as the *Amīru'l-umarā*'s followers were inside the fort they drove out all the servants and the royal *Bak*sa*r*ia guards who had been living there with their wives and children for a long time and had the whole management of the fort in their hands They occupied every place and every vantage point and seized everything there

Although the servants of the Palace demonstrated (at what had happened) and represented that the act of ejecting the royal servants, and appointing his own men savoured of rebellion and was unfair, and amounts to their humiliation and disgrace, that His Majesty be careful, yet, as God had willed it otherwise no heed was paid to it

WAQ'I' After the expiry of the one *pahr* of the day[74] *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur came out of his residence, and accompanied by a large force entered the fort, was received in the *Dīwan-i-khās* and had the honour of paying

his respects to his Majesty, and presented one thousand *Ashrafis* by way of *niayāz*. The Emperor in extreme affection embraced the *Amīru'l-umarā* and awarded him a special robe *Khil'at-i-khāsa* and an embroidered headdress *sarpech-i-murassa*, and placed his turban (on him). When the Emperor enquired about the captive, the *Amīru'l-umarā* represented that he was at hand, but the agents of Rājā Sāhū who have brought the prince, along with this humble-self are insistent that the mother and brother of Rājā Sāhu (be first) set at liberty after which they would hand over the prisoner at whichever place ordered by the Emperor (He added) that the humble-self also made such a promise with them that he would get those captives released first. Let a royal order be issued that the mother and brother of Rājā Sāhū be handed over to the latter's representives The suggestion was accepted and the relations of Rājā Sāhū who had been kept in custody in the fort for a period of 40 years since the time of Aurangzeb were released and handed over to that group (the Marāṭhās).

After this the *Amīru'l-umarā* submitted, "The promise which this humble slave, had made to these people has now been fulfilled by His Majesty's favour, and there remains no excuse. Next morning I would lead the captive to Your Majesty's presence in the public hall of audience *Dīwān-i-'ām* so that every one may know it" This was approved of by His Majesty *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur having obtained permission to leave, took with him the *Deccanis* and came to his residence.

At night the pillars of the State and supporters of the kingdom submitted to His Majesty, "Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur have evil intentions, and all that they have been doing is nothing but deceit and treachery. Expediency demands that in the morning Your Majesty set out for hunting[76] and recreation and pitch the camp outside the fort or at any other place to circumvent their evil designs, we; Your Majesty's devoted slaves, would have the honour of attending on Your Majesty's stirrups and would fullfil our loyalty and zeal in sacrificing lives in Your Majesty's service" The Emperor having accepted the

proposal, ordered that preparations be made for the march in the morning Sayyid ‘Abdullāh K͟hān having heard about it, sent a megssage to the Emperor saying that next morning the *Amiru'l-umarā* would bring the captive and present him to His Majesty in the public hall of audience (*Dīwān-i-‘ām*). The expedition (*suwārī*) may be postponed and order be issued that the *Dīwān-i-‘ām* should be got ready " As fate had so willed it, the march was postponed and the order was given for the arrnagement of the public hall of audience (*Dīwān-i-k͟hāṣ*).

W' 1Q I'I On the 8th of *Rābi‘* II, 1129 *AH*,[77] early in the morning, the *Amiru'l-umarā*, Husain ‘Alī K͟hān Bahādur and Sayyid ‘Abdullāh K͟hān Bahādur set out with all their soldiers and came to the *darbar* As this nobleman had taken charge of the management of the fort, some of the soldiers entered the royal fort while the greater part of the *Deccanis* and others remained posted at the gate of the fort and in the streets and markets Sayyid ‘Abdullāh K͟hān Bahādur and Husain ‘Alī K͟hān the *Amiru'l-umarā* Bahādur having presented themselves before the Emperor in the *Dīwān-i-k͟hās*, began to discuss with His Majesty certain matters which were far from being relevant and made certain requests which were unreasonable His Majesty perceiving that their conduct and behaviour was different (suspicious) he left them seated in the private hall of audience (*Dīwān-i-k͟hās*) and retired to the inner apartments of the Palace

Rājā Ajit Singh [78] the *Zamīndār* of Jodhpur, the father-in-law of His Majesty, who was secretly in league with the enemies and was a party to the plot, was present in the *Dīwān-i-‘ām* (public hall of audience) with a contingent of four thousand Rājpūts His Majesty wrote a note to him in his own hand and signatures and gave it to one of the eunuchs of the palace to be delivered to the above mentioned Rājā The contents of the note ran as thus

‘The eastern side of the fort towards the river Jamuna is free, if you can, depute a contingent of your troops there, so that I may get out and make off in some direction.” The aforesaid eunuch putting the letter in his pocket, and resorting to a thousand tricks and wiles eluding ‘Abdullāh’s and

Amīru'l-umarā's men, who were cautious and vigilant at every point, succeeded in reaching Rājā Ajīt Singh Rāthor, and handed over the note to him The aforesaid Rājā wrote in reply "It is too late, and what can I do now" According to one of the stories (which was current) Rājā Ajit Singh, who was clandestinely in league with the opponents and was himself a party to the plot, sent the note as it was to Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān so that he might be aware of the situation. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān after reading the note summoned Chūrā Jāt and instructed him to be vigilant about the eastern side of the fort near the river Jamuna so that none could come out from that side Accordingly, the aforementioned Chūrā, with his troops, went to the sands of the Jamuna and kept a watch on the eastern side of the fort. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān decided between themselves that in the execution of the plot the delay, now was inadvisable, and they acted accordingly

They sent a group of professionally wicked[79] and habitual mischief-mongers inside the royal palace and this group of base ruffians and short-sighted trouble-shooters entered the inner appartments of the royal palace Some of the devoted slaves of the palace took to arms, inflicted wounds on those wretches (and) employed themselves to the service of the Emperor. The Emperor, too raising his sword came forth and repeatedly attacked them In the end, as fate did not help him, he resigned himself to the will of God

WAQĪ' When the news of the (tragic) occurrance leaked out, the *Deccani* horsemen who were stationed, to help the *Amīru'l-umarā* in the streets and the market around the fort began to lay their hands on the property of the people of the market There was general consternation In sheer confusion the *Deccanis* fled helter skelter like a pack of sheep, and the market people fell upon them On receipt of news six thousand[80] *Wālāshāhi mansabdārs* of high ranks and soldiers *shash hazār suwār manṣabdār-i-wālā shāhī-i-besh manṣab wa sipāhi*) who from olden times—from the days of *Khuld-makan*—were the supporters of the sovereign and worthy of reliance, armed, themselves and arrived at the gate

of the fort Most of them displayed activity and exertion to the best of their ability But finding that all was over and that the fort had fallen into the hands of the pretenders, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān, in a state of helplessness they returned to their homes

During this turmoil the royal stable, which had seven thousand horses, caught fire Most of the horses were destroyed by fire those that survived were seized and divided between themselves by the two brothers As soon as the business of imprisoning the Emperor was over, and their mind was set at rest, they turned to seize the royal treasury which was full of cash arms and vessels of gold and silver and other properties They divided it all accordingly among themselves

WAQA'I' The two brothers, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān, in concert with each other, released from the prison prince *Rafi'u'd-darajāt*,[81] placed him on the royal throne, caused the royal umbrella to be spread over his head Also coins were struck and *khutba* was recited in his name A large number of the great nobles and powerful *mansabdārs* performed their customary obeisance and salutations

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī who was entitled I'tiqād Khān, *Ruknu'-d-daulāh* and had received many favours and immense wealth from His Majesty, returned to his house on the night the His Majesty was made prisoner He dismissed troops after paying off their salaries He felt much relieved and addressed himself to the task of managing his own affairs Although his soldiers endeavoured to inspire him with courage and confidence and induced him to stand out, he did not dare do it At length, the two brothers placed a guard to watch his house, confiscated all his goods and properties and put him to humiliation and disgrace Similarly Sa'ādat Khān[82] who was a great noble and had at his disposal his troops, refused to tender submission to them (Sayyid Brothers) and claiming equal status with them stayed back in his house with confidence Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān sent choice reliable messengers to him to reassure him and gain his confidence by taking oath on the *Qurān* and

bring him. This was done. The messengers swearing by the *Kalām Majīd*, brought him. On his arrival he was thrown into prison, his property worth 15 lacs of rupees in cash and kind was confiscated and divided between the above mentioned (brothers).

WAQĀ'I'. Nizāmu'l-mulk, who had been appointed to administer *Subā* Malwa by Emperor Farrukhsiyar, saw the state to which the Emperor had been reduced, and asked Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's permission to leave As the aforesaid Khāns had their own doubts and apprehensions with regard to Niẓāmu'l-mulk's presence at the Court, they granted him permission to leave (for his province). They even deputed officers (*sazāwāls*) to see that Niẓāmu'l-mulk went away without delay to his *maḥāls*. Collecting together and taking all the members of his family, his properties, goods and friends with himself, he set out for the Province[83] of Malwa. Although the aforesaid Khāns pressed him to leave his son behind at the Court, he refused to do so, and taking him with himself set out on his journey to Malwa.

WAQĀ'I' As Nizāmu'l-mulk was one of the chief nobles and a great and an old statesman, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Ali Khān were very suspicious of him Moreover, Prince Nekosiyar, son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, along with his two nephews had been kept in custody in the fort of Akbarābād since his childhood, from the time of *Khuld Makān*, for a period of 40 years, and this province (at this stage) was without a *nazim* The two brothers were in great anxiety lest Nizāmu'l-mulk, on his way, should take the Akbarābād road and in concert with the prince's help pick up trouble They, therefore, appointed their sister's son, Ghairat[84] Khan, who held a *mansab* of five thousand *zāt* and five thousand *suwār*, to the government (*sūbadārī*) of Akbarābād, and granted him a standard, colours, fish, and other insignia, a robe of honour, and an ornamented head-dress (*'alam wa tūgh, wa hasb-i marātib, khil'at khaṣa wa jīgha-i-muraṣṣa'*). They also sent Shamshīr Khān and Sanjar Khān, *Walāshahi* of Malīhābād to proceed speedily by forced marches so as to arrive at Akbarābād before Niẓāmu'l-mulk

could reach there and take care of the fort They granted Sanjar Khān the *Pargana* of Mahoba and Shamshīr Khān the *Pargana* of Kakori in *Sarkār* Lucknow as *jagirs*, and having given a *khil'at* to each of them gave leave to them. Ghairat Khān, Shamshīr Khān and Sanjar Khān set out for their destination and reached Akbarābād before the arrival of Nizāmu'l-mulk

WAQĀ'I'. After a short time Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān appointed Samandar Khān who held the *mansab* of 3,000 *zāt*/2,000 *suwār* to be the *Qal'adār* (commandant) of the fort of Akbarābād The said Khān having obtained the honour of the *qala'dāri* of the obove mentioned fort arrived at Gaughat,[85] near Akbarābād, (and then) sent a message to the *hazāris* of the fort that all the *hāzāris*, *baksāriās*[86] and the officials of the artillery should come out of the fort to welcome him and meet him at Gaughat All the *hazāris* and *baksariās* held consultations They were full of suspicion because three months' salary was in arrears and the administration was unsteady. Whom to trust was the question before them (?), and in concert and cooperation with Mitr Sen, *brahman* (*Zunnār-dār*) who was the confident of Prince Nekosiyar brought out the latter along with his two nephews and seated him on the throne Mitr[87] Sen was exalted to the *manṣab* of 7,000z/7 000s (*haft hazār-i-zat haft hazār suwār*), the title of Rājā Bīrbal was conferred upon him, and he was raised to the office of the *wizārat* Then a crore and 80 lacs of rupees which was in the treasury of the fort was taken out and most of it was distributed among the soldiers

On the second day the Prince with his two nephews came out and sat down in the *bangla*, situated at the gate of the fort, and the creatures of God crowded, and gathered merit by seeing the prince and expressed their joy and happiness The Prince with his both hands signed to the people to remain composed Mitr Sen who had become Bīrbal scattered gold over the Prince's head with both hands Soldiers flocked from all sides and enrolled themselves for service The *baksariās* of the fort admitted iron-smiths, artillery men and other professionals into the fort, filled the guns and fired

cannon balls on the mansion of Ghairat *Khān*, the *Nāẓim* of the *Ṣūbā*. The said Khān was so frightened that he wanted to leave his house and take his family and children to some other place but Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān prevented him saying 'How has this foolish notion come into your mind? None dies before the hour of death and none lives unless he is destined to live!' Thus encouraged and assured, Ghairat Khān became steady and gained confidence and sent a report of the situation to Sayyid 'Abullāh Khān. The content of the letter was as follows:—

'Arẓdāsht · "After performing due obeisance and offering respects it is submitted to the attendants of the *Qibla* and *Ka'ba* of the two worlds that Prince Nekosiyar, son of Muhammad Akbar, who was confined in the stronghold of Akbarābād, in concert with some mischievous people, has raised the head of trouble; on 25 *Jumādā* II he seated himself on the throne in the fort and unfurled royal umbrella over his head; he has seized the imperial treasury which was in the fort; dismissed the *Kotwāl* of the city and appointed his own *kotwāl*, and began to assemble an army, so that men from every quarter flocked to seek service under him, and the number of such people is daily on the increase The men of the fort have made common cause with him and have begun to raise troubles of various types They are contemplating to attack me. Although this humble-self with the assistance of the protectors of the State, Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān, who are sincerely devoted to and are at one with your humble servant, is steady and firm in the cause of the government (*dar kār-i-sarkār*) but he deemed it as his duty to report this matter to your honoured-self, the lord of the world Any command that may be issued will be acted upon, and any plan that may suggest itself to your blessed heart would be immediately put to effect and would be considered in the interest of the State More would have exceeded the limits of etiquette"

W'AQĀ'I' · When the camel-drivers brought this letter to Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān at the capital (Delhi) they became aware of the situation and were

perplexed and confounded and held consultations with each other After consultations it was settled that one of them should proceed to the place with all speed. Accordingly, Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān set out[88] towards Akbarābād with a large force and abundant artillery to suppress this tumult and commotion As he left his house and moved out of the Gate of Delhi, the rope holding[89] the *naqqārā* (drum) on the elephant's back broke, and both the *naqqārās* rolled down to the ground A letter was sent in reply to that of Sayyid Ghairat Khān. And a letter full of praise and commendation (was sent to) Sanjar Khān and Shamshir Khān. The contents are as follows

"The prosperous and fortunate Khān, the symbol of dignity, Sayyid Ghairat Khān—may you remain under the protection and security of the Almighty God Let it not be hidden that the letter which you sent recently and which contained an account of the tumult and trouble raised by Nekosiyar, son of prince Muhammad Akbar, in the fort of Akbarābād, and the friendly assistance which was rendered by the protectors of the State, Sanjar Khān and Shamshir Khān, has been perused and the circumstances have been exactly and distinctly understood Our army from these parts is already on its way, and will soon reach there and will, by the grace of God, put an end to the rebellion in a fitting manner Let your mind be at rest, keep the fort in a state of seige and be steady and firm and also active There is nothing more to pen"

The contents of the letter (addressed to Sanjar Khān and Shamshir Khān) are "May the refuge of the State and Government Sanjar Khān and Shamshir Khān, be the recipient of the bounties of the Lord of the universe (God) The account of the friendly support given by you, the embodiment of bravery to the prosperous and fortunate Sayyid Ghairat Khān, the symbol of dignity, has been fully and completely made known to us through his letter Bravo ! may the mercy of God be upon you The high hopes entertained from both of you (renowned for power and glory) have been fulfilled beyond expectation Let your mind be at peace, God willing the camp of our army, bringing victory and fame in

ts train, will soon arrive there (Akbarābād). You will receive many favours, kindnesses and benefits from us You should continue to write the details of happenings there There is no need to add more "

WAQĀ'I' . *Amīru'-l-umarā*, Husain 'Alī Khān, accompanied by thrity thousand horse, and a larger number of foot, arrived at Akbarābād, and laid siege[90] to the fort. He rode out, made inspections all round, formed his own plan, and set up an entrenchment Heavy guns, stationed against the fort, included Ghāzī Khān (Lord Champion) which always remained in Akbarābād which is well known in those parts, and was drawn by four big elephants, fourteen hundred draught oxen, and shot balls of one maund of *Shahjahānī* weight, *Shēr dahan* (tiger-mouth) which shot balls of thirty seers and was pulled on by two elephants and six hundred bullocks, *Qal'a-kusha* (fort opener) which shot balls of one maund twelve seers *Shahjahānī* weight, and was pulled on by four elephants and 17,000 oxen, *Dhūm-dham* (the noisy), and some others like *Zafar paikar*, *Shēr panja*, *Attak*, *Malik maidān*, and *Bijlī* all of which were of about the same calibre [91] Instructions were issued that all these cannons should be brought immediately near the fort to be ready for action

As there was a heavy downpour, it took twelve days for some of the above mentioned guns and twenty days for others to be transported from the camp of the *Amīru'l-umarā* to the fort which was at a distance of one *kuroh* from the camp. As the by-lanes, roads and bazaars were narrow by the order of the *Amīru'l-umarā* many shops and mansions of the town were pulled apart or pulled down for affording passage for the guns to reach the fort About, 1,600 small and big guns were available inside the fort and engaged in the battle, and the *baksariās* continuously fired them They took no rest Particularly at night they emitted fire at every moment at every hour, and the bursting of balls shook the earth and sky alike

Even before the fighting had commenced the astrologers had unanimously predicted that there would be turmoil and bloodshed in Akbarābād This proved to be correct Every

day men on both the sides were killed One day eleven persons, men and women, standing close to each other were filling their jugs and pitchers with water from the river, all of a sudden they were hit by cannon balls and perished. The fire of the battery damaged the mansion of Sayyid Ghairat Khān, the *Nāzim* of the *Suba*, which lay adjacent to and opposite the fort, and the guns of *Amiru'l-umarā* battered the walls of the fort and the tower on the eastern side damaging the key foundations The soldiers of Ghairat Khān, the *Nāzim* of the *Suba*, arrested some citizens on suspicion of their being in league with the garrison, and plundered their houses

WAQAI' Sayyid Ghairat Khān, *Nāzim* of the *Sūba*, got ready to give battle with the help of the contingent he had at his command Shamshir Khān *Walāshāi*, pushed forward with his contingent up to the gate of the fort, and then opened the fight Some men of the aforementioned Khān attained martyrdom and many men were wounded After a good deal of carnage and bloodshed Shamshir Khān succeeded in occupying the *Chabutra-i-kotwāli* which was near the gate of the fort and which was held by Prince Nekosiyar's men The *Kotwal* of the prince was defeated Upon this the garrison decided that Rājā Jai Singh *Sawai* Abdu s Samad Khān and other local officers should be informed and invited to come and on the arrival of any one of them, with his assistance and support they should bring the prince out of the fort and so they did

WAQAI' There was a loud talk and strong rumour that Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*, 'Abdu's Samsad Khān, *Nāzim* of Lahore, and Rājā Girdhar Bahādur, *Nāzim* of *sūba* Awadh were approaching to help and support the garrison But none arrived there and on the other hand, the provisions ran short in the fort The *baksariās* lost heart and became much upset. Meanwhile, one of the *hazāris* of Husain 'Ali Khān by name Chūrāman" who was related to one of the *hazāris* in the fort, established contacts with the *hazaris* of the fort. He guaranteed them safety of life and property and secured a promise from them to surrender the fort as well as the prince.

Chūrāman Jāt who was posted with his contingent at one of the entrenchments near the fort also established contacts with some of the garrison. He became one with them and gained their confidence The garrison permitted the two Chūrās inside the fort and offered them Ganges water (for oath). Both of them putting Ganges water on their heads and swore by it. Similarly the party from amongst the garrison solemnly promised to surrender the fort and Prince Nekosiyar The people of the fort handed over one of the prince, from amongst the brothers of Nekosiyar, to Chūrā Jāt with Rs. 50,000 cash asking him to keep the money himself and escort the prince to the territory of Rājā Jai Singh Chūrāman, however, took the prince along with the cash which he had received, to the *Amiru'l-umarā* The *Amiru'l-umarā* imprisoned the prince and left the money with him Moreover he conferred upon him an elephant, a dress of honour, and a *manṣab* of five thousand *zat*.

WAQĀ'I' · After the arrival of the aforesaid prince, the two Chūrās were sent into the fort to bring the *baksariās* safely out of the fort according to the terms of the compact along with all their wealth and properties intact, as well as to bring Prince Nekosiyar and the other princes and to take over the fort The said two Chūrās went into the fort, confirmed the compact with the *Baksariās* and the *hazāris* of the fort, upon this those who had been in charge of the gates opened them The *Baksariā* followers of the *Amiru'l-umarā* entered the fort with Chūrā, the *hazarī* and the men of Chūrāman Jāt. After this both Chūrās having led out from the fort *Baksarias* with their families unscathed (according to the terms of the contract marched to the residence of Sultān Nekosiyar and the other princes. Nekosiyar came out with his nephew and becoming aware of the (new) situation took up his abode at another place in the fort

WAQĀ'I' Mitr Sen Brahman, the *mutasaddī-i-sarkār* of Prince Nekosiyar, who had been recently elevated to the *manṣab* 7000z/7,000s (*haft hazārī w haft hazār suwār*) and was given the title Rājā Bīrbal, seeing the state of affairs, gave up all hopes of life and having first put to death, with his own hands, all his

kinsmen (*mardum-i-qabail*) that were within the fort, killed himself with his dagger

When the report with regard to the entry of the two Chūrās in the fort, and the opening of the gates by the *Baksariās* reached *Amiru'l-umara* Husain 'Ali Khān he deputed his sister's son Sayyid Ghairat Khān, with a contingent of troops to go inside the fort carefully take control of and protect all the treasures and properties and bring Prince Nekosiyar and his nephew Sayyid Ghairat Khān went with his men into the fort and after securing the treasure and other properties he went to Prince Nekosiyar The prince with his nephew accompanied him When the prince arrived at the gate of the fort, Sayyid Ghairat Khān sent for an elephant with a litter (*hauda*) seated the prince in it and led him to the *Amiru'l-umara* When riding on the elephant the prince kept head bent down and he did not turn his eyes towards anybody' A large crowd had gathered to see the spectacle When the elephant bearing the prince arrived at the gate of *Amiru'l-Umara*'s mansion, the elephant was made to sit and the princes alighted The *Amiru'l-umara* who received them, seated both of them on the cushion, and stood himself before them with folded hands Subsequently he ordered a tent to be erected within that of his own and the princes were kept there under surveillance After his mind was at rest with regard to this affair the *Amiru'l-umara* sent trustworthy men to take charge of the property that was in the fort and appropriated to himself all the cash and goods Altogether, one crore[93] eighty lacs were spent one crore and forty lacs in cash besides those in the form of goods silver and gold were appropriated

H 1Q 1 I' When the news of the conquest of the fort and the capture of the princes reached 'Abdullāh Khān, he marched with Emperor Rafi'u d-darajāt[94] from the imperial metropolis and speedily arrived at Akbarābād Delighted and satisfied with the conquest of the fort of Akbarābād, the capture of the princes and at the termination of the disturbances both the brothers indulged in pleasures and rejoicings, mirth and enjoyment

WAQĀ'I' Haidar Quli Khān,[95] *Nāzim* of *Sūba* Ahmadābād, who had arrived with a force of 4,000 horses and an equal number of foot soldiers at the time when the battle for the fort was in progress, supported Sayyid Ghairat Khān, put in great exertions, and suffered many hardships He had the honour of being presented to the sovereign of the age, the *Amīru'l-umarā* and 'Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān In a very short time favoured by luck he became a highly trusted and responsible officer

WAQĀ'I' The Emperor Farrukhsiyar borne down with the hardships of imprisonment and suffering from pain in his eyes caused by the iron needle run across them by the oppressors passed away in obedience to the Divine decree from this mortal world to the immortal world, and leaving this transitory life made his way to eternal life [96] The dead body of the deceased was wrapped in a gold embroidered sheet and was sent to the graveyard escorted by a suitable contingent (*fauj-i-shā'ista*) A whole world was sad and mournful at the death of that (person) of angelic virtues A group of true devotees to God and recluses weeping and crying accompanied the bier to the burial ground Those accompanying the bier distributed cash in charity, but none accepted it deeming it to be money of the oppressors On the contrary after the burial and funeral obsequies of the deceased sovereign, all the *faqirs* assembled together and pooled their contributions out of their own money, each according to his means, and on the day of *fātiha* prepared food, distributed it and ate it themselves

WAQĀ'I' Sayyid Abdullāh Khān and the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, after the conquest of the fort of Akbarābād when they had finished celebrations and merry-making, started preparations for the campaign against Rājā Jai Singh *Sawai*, the *Zamindar* of Amber. Accompanied by Emperor Rafi'u'd-darajāt,[97] both the Khāns set out for Ajmer (the abode of peace) *via* Fatehpur Sikri Their plan was this In Fatehpur Sikri lies buried the elect of God's beloved and the chosen of mystics His Holiness Salīm Shāh Chishtī, and Ajmer, the abode of charity is geared by the tomb of His

Holiness Khwājā Mū'inu'd-dīn Chishti. After paying a visit to the holy shrine of Fatehpur Sikri, they would go to Ajmer, the abode of peace. They would increase the light of their eyes by paying a visit to that illuminated mausoleum. If during this while Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* reaps honour by waiting upon them, so far so good, otherwise the campaign against him would be undertaken to teach a lesson to him, to bring him to his senses and to plunder his territory (*mulk*). When the grounds of Fatehpur Sikri had the honour of the noble camp having been pitched there, considerations of expediency compelled them to stay there for a month. Here they gathered the honour of paying visits and reciting prayers at the mausoleum of His Holiness Salīm Shāh and others who lay buried there

In the meanwhile Rājā Ajit Singh, the *Zamīndar* of Jodhpur who was accompanying them, but wanted to separate himself, on some pretext or the other, from Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān said, "If you give me permission to leave, I shall bring Rājā Jai Singh, and induce him to make his submission to you" As the sole object and purpose of the aforesaid Khāns was that the Rājā should come and all tumult and trouble should cease, the suggestion was accepted and Rājā Ajit Singh was permitted to leave After two or three days the aforesaid Rājā was appointed *Subadāi* of Ahmadābād,[98] and received from His Majesty the lord of the world a golden headdress, a pearl necklace, an elephant, and two horses He was then permitted to take his departure and he set out on his journey Sayyid 'Abdullāh and the *Amiru'l-umarā* Husain Ali Khan struck their camp from Fatehpur[99] Sikri and one night intervening, they returned to Akbarābād along with the Emperor

During this journey the writer[100] of this history (*Sahīfa*), with a group of his friends, gathered honour by paying a visit to the threshold of the best of the spiritual devotees of God, Salim Shāh Chishti, who lies in eternal rest in the sepulchre at the town of Fatehpur Sikri, and thus by the guidance of his luck and good fortune acquired felecity and happiness.

H 1Q 1 / According to the Decree of God, the King, the protector of the world (*Bādshah-i-gīti panāh*) the blessed

Rafī'u'd-darajāt[101] (?) died outside the city of Akbarābād. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Ḥusain 'Alī Khān kept this secret guarded and sent a contingent of troops led by a Bārha commander (*sardār-i-Bārha*) to the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād with instructions to pick out one of the princes who were confined in the fort and bring him with all speed. Till the arrival of the forces at Shāhjahānābād and the bringing of the prince the news of the death of the late king was carefully withheld. Whenever the two brothers went to the royal pavilion (*khargāh*) they returned from there robed in dress of honour so that the suspicions of the people might be allayed and the death of the ex-king may not get publicity.

WAQĀ'I' : The army of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān after one night and two days arrived from Akbarābād at Shāhjahānābād, and with the concurrence of the commandant of the fort and the Nāzim of the province they brought out Prince Rafī'u'd-daulāh the younger brother of the late Rafī'u'd-darajāt from the fort, and after a journey of two days and nights they arrived at Akbarābād with the above mentioned prince. (Then) Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and the *Amīru'l-umarā*, Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān made the death of the king Rafī'u'd-darajāt known to all and after preparing the bier of the dead king, they sent it to Shāhjahānābād. Relieved of this job they seated Rafī'u'd-daulāh on the royal throne, performed the customary ceremonies of obeisance and salutations, gave the king the title of Shāhjahān II, and recited the *Khutba* and struck coins current in his name.

WAQĀ'I'. As His Majesty, the refuge of the world Shāhjahān II alias Rafī'u'd-daulāh, was suffering from a chronic disease and had always remained ill, he too, after four months, passed away by the will of God. They sent for from the imperial metropolis, the well-acquainted with Divine secrets, the trusted agent of the limitless (Divine) workshop, the Lord of the faithful, the best of *Sultāns*, aware of God, Muhammad Shāh, son of Prince Jahān Shāh, the son of Bahādur Shāh, and placed him on the imperial throne. His original blessed name was Raushan Akhtar, (now) he was entitled Muhammad Shāh. Coins were issued and *Khutba* was read in his name.

WAQĀ'I': From the occurrences in the *Sūba* of Allahābād it was reported that Rājā Chabela[102] Rām, the Nāẓim of the *Sūba*, had died by the will of God As Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān and the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān were displeased with him from before, they expressed their happiness[103] on his demise, and caused the drums of jubilation to be beaten on the occasion, forgetting what the wise men have said·

Verse If the enemy dies, there is no occasion for joy, for our own lives are also not everlasting and eternal.

When the news of the rejoicings of the ruler of the times at the death of Rājā Chabela Rām reached the ears of his nephew, Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, who held the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār* and was appointed with his uncle, and who had been the axis of affairs in the government of his uncle, he entered the fort of Allahābād and strengthened its fortification

As in the immediate vicinity of the fort, on its two sides, east and south, there flowed the rivers Ganges and Sarswati, Rājā Gridhar Bahādur dug a canal from the bank of the rivers Jamuna and Sarswatī[104] on the south side and carried it northward to join the river Ganges Thus the fort was encircled by water from all sides and it was strongly protected. He collected grains and every other article in great abundance in the fort, and keeping a large force with ample materials of war he began to boast equality with them (Sayyid brothers) He withdrew his feet from the path of obedience and became ready to fight them He posted numerous troops under able leaders outside the fort, on the east of the rivers Ganges and Jamuna and barred the route of Bengal treasure On the western side of the fort, with the water of Sarswati, which he had carried towards the north through the recently excavated channel, he built a series of mud fortresses and keeping a number of war-like people on these small forts he completed his preparations for resistance

On receipt of such reports Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān were much perturbed and were filled with anxiety and apprehensions. Eventually

the aforesaid two Khāns, after discussion and consultations with each other, deputed Haidar Qulī Khān, who had come with a suitable force from the *Sūba* of Gujarat, and placed a force of 5,000 horse and a larger number of foot soldiers under him. They also wrote to Muhammad Khān Bangash, a *Manṣabdār* of 5,000 *ẕāt*/5,000 *suwār* who was at Kalpi, and was one of the most trusted persons of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, as well as to Sher Afgan[105] Khān, the *Faujdār* of Etawah, and to Hasan Khān the *Faujdār* of *Sarkār* Kora ad Jahānābād, and enjoined upon them to proceed speedily to Allahābād each with his own force, and to open siege of the fort before they (the Khans) arrived there. They were asked to exert themselves to their utmost so as to make Rājā Gridhar Bahādur a captive or to kill him. Haidar Qulī Khān, Sher Afgan Khān, Muhammad Khān Bangash and Hasan Khān arrived at Allahābād each of them with a force of 40,000 horse and more foot soldiers, and pitched their camps on the western side of the fort. Haidar Qulī Khān, who was unequalled in the skill of fort-taking and expert in State affairs tried his best to capture the fort by clever devices, but he failed to achieve his object Although with this intention the said Khān several times went with some of his followers inside the fort, and Rājā Gridhar Bahādur too came out of the fort and met him, but time was not ripe for agreement between them At last when the question of peace by negotiation or compromise could not assume a practical shape and mutual discussion and deliberation did not make any headway, fighting with musket balls and arrows commenced, and from time to time cannon balls, arrows and the bullets from the matchlock, fired from the fort and its entrenchment fell on the army of Haidar Qulī-khān, Sher Afgan Khān, and Hasan Khān. From their sides soldiers from their trenches could advance up to the walls of the fort.

When the business of capturing the fort made no progress Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān discussd the problem between themselves and considered the apprehensions. They said that the fort of Akbarābād was taken after four months[106] only as a result of negotiation, and that the fort of Allahābād was by no means inferior to that of Akbarābād but

it was stronger of the two In Akbarābād the tumult was kicked up by *Baksariās*. but there were groups among them each holding a different opinion'from the other. Nor did it have so much of war material, nor was there a single leader. In the fort of Allahābād there is a strong leader and there is plenty of food and ammunition O' Lord! What would happen ? and how would things shape ? And on the top of it the path of the Bengal treasure which is the mainstay of the empire has been intercepted on account of this turmoil. If the fort is captured the trouble would subside and the treasure of the above mentioned *suba* which has reached Patna could reach the Court and many problems would be resolved. (From these considerations) they decided to send to him (Girdhar Bahādur) a trustworthy person from the Court, but one who is well acquainted with him as well as enjoyed the confidence of the latter It was also decided that one of them would cross the Jamuna and encamp[107] on the other side of the said river If a compromise is worked out, well and good otherwise an advance should be made, and the fort be attacked Let there be any consequence

Accordingly, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān selected the pivot of their affairs, Ratan Chand,[108] who held the title of Rājā, gave him a dress of honour and an elephant as *in'ām* and allowed him to depart with 500 horses and more foot soldiers *Amīru'l-umarā* Husain 'Ali Khān took his camp to the other side of the Jamuna and stayed there

WAQ'I' Rājā Ratan Chand, accompanied by the troops which had been placed at his disposal, went to Allahābād. As Rājā Ratan Chand was the principal officer and the centre of affairs of the two *sarkars* (*Mutasaddi-i-dar-o-madār-i-har do sarkar*) most of the servants of the king, officers, *wakīls* of the nobles, *mansabdars* and other agents and functionaries of the civil and military departments accompanied him on his way to Allahābād On the way the *faujdārs* and the agents (*gumashtahā'i*) of the *jāgirdārs* and the *zamīndārs* of the highway came and joined him, and went along with him so that by the time he arrived at Allahābād, the Rājā had a force of 50 000 horses and a larger number of foot soldiers.

WAQĀ'I' : *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī K͟hān Bahādur who was encamped on the other side of the Jamuna at Akbarābād, during the first ten days of the blessed month of *Rabi'* I[109] ordered food of various kinds to be cooked and prepared as *naẕr* (offering) to the *Ḥaẓarat*, the refuge of *risālat*, may God's blessings and peace be on him. He sent invitations to the learned, the able and pious men to come. For many of these men who were venerable and were living in retirement and did not move out from their places, he sent palanquins, coaches (*rath*), and horses to ride on (and bring them) He appealed to them and humbly requested them to come. After they had assembled, the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī K͟hān personally attended to them and standing there supervised the distribution of food and water to them. Not only this he himself helped the pious and the learned to wash their hands by holding the jug and the basin in his hands. At the end of the dinner, holding the *pāndān* (betel-box) in his own hands, he offered to them betel-leaves, smeared essences of various kinds on the clothes and sprinkled rose water on them [110] He also presented them cash and pieces of cloth to each according to his position and status to please them and make them happy. This celebration lasted for twelve days without a break, and the *Amīru'l-umarā* served them

WAQĀ'I' . Rājā Ratan C͟hand arrived at Allahābād with a large army, and pitched his camp on this side of the fort, about 2 *kuroh* from it He sent words to Gridhar Bahādur saying that he had come there to meet him and was very keen to see him. In reply Rājā Gridhar Bahādur sent word saying that his attending on him would be his great good fortune: but because Rājā C͟habela Rām was dead and he was in mourning, if he (the Rājā Ratan C͟hand) took the trouble to come to him, it would be regarded as a visit of condolence

Leaving his men in his camp and taking with him Muhammad K͟hān Bangas͟h and Ḥaidar Quli K͟hān and some other trustworthy persons he (Rājā Ratan C͟hand) went into the fort to see Rājā Gridhar Bahādur Rājā Gridhar advanced as far as the gate of his house which was situated within the fort, and received him and performed the rules of reception.

Rājā Ratan Chand, on arriving at his residence, performed the ceremonial condolence. Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur presented one elephant, a few trays of cloths and five horses and requested his guest to accept them Rājā Ratan Chand accepted one elephant and two horses and returned the rest: then after staying there for some time he returned to his camp. Next day, Rājā Gridhar Bahādur came to the tent of Rājā Ratan Chand, with his retinue and in great dignity Rājā Ratan Chand advanced to the door of his tent to receive him and seated him by his side on the same cushion He presented him one elephant, five horses with elaborate and costly trappings Rājā Gridhar Bahādur too, accepted only one elephant, and two horses and returned the rest After the preliminary talks of peace and compromise, the two Rājās held a private discussion and removed their mutual doubts and suspicions Rājā Ratan Chand offered to assign to Gridhar Lāl Bahādur the government and administration of the *Sūbā* of Awadh and all its *sarkārs* and dependencies together with the charge of all the affairs of *diwanī* and *faujdārī* after transferring it from Mir Musharraf In addition, a sum of thirty Lakh rupees[111] from the Bengal treasury was to be given to Gridhar Bahādur to compensate for the expenses he had incurred in raising the army and strengthening the fort He presented him a dress of honour and an ornamented head dress and an elephant and thus reconciled him Rājā Gridhar Bahādur gave his consent to peace on these terms, vacated the fort of Allahābād and handed it over to Rājā Ratan Chand He came out of the fort and set out for *Sūba* Awadh Rāja Ratan Chand appointed Sayyid Husain Khān as the commandant of the fort of Allahābād and made the fort over to him, and after setting other matters of the *Sūba* of Allahābād, he set out for Akbarābād, the seat of the Empire He sent contingent of troops to bring up the Bengal treasures which had been held up at Patna, on account of the uprising at Allahābād, and issued instructions that out of the total amount thirty lakhs of rupees should be made over to the men of Rājā Gridhar Bahādur, and the remainder be brought to the Court

Rājā Ratan Chand covering the distance stage by stage, soon arrived at Akbarābād and waited upon *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid

Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān. These noblemen highly pleased at the successful termination of the affair, showered praises on Rājā Ratan Chand and distinguished him with a *mansab* of 5,000 ẕāt/5,000 *suwār*, a special robe and a costly pearl necklace.

WAQĀ'I' : ,Alī Asad[113] Khān, son of Mīr Musharraf, the proctector of the dignity, who had served as a deputy to his father in the government of *Sūba* Awadh and had acted as the *Nāẓim* of the *ṣūba* and had done excellently in directing and managing the affairs of the province, according to the instructions of Rājā Ratan Chand came to Allahābād with a suitable army. He had dispalyed much zeal and had undergone troubles of many kinds. Although the Rājā was much pleased with his behaviour, his excellent qualities of head and heart and with the abundance of his following, yet as he allowed no concession to the aforesaid Khān, the Khān was overburdened with the expenditure incurred on the army

WAQĀ'I' When peace concerning the fort of Allahābād had been established and the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān was relieved of all anxieties on that score, after the arrival of Rājā Ratan Chand he removed his camp from the other side of the Jamuna and pitched it in the garden of Dhara (Dahr Ārā) near Akbarābād From the reports of the *waqā'i'* of *Sūba* Malwa and from the oral communication of the *harkārās* it was gathered that Niẓāmu'l-mulk,[114] the *Nāẓim* of that province, in contravention of the customary rules and regulation, had raised a large army, and collected, beyond estimates, stores of war materials, and that he intended to march to the Deccan. *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān sent for the *Wakīl* (agent) of Niẓāmu'l-mulk who was in the Court, humiliated him, uttering words umbecoming the etiquette of the nobles, and directed him to write to his master (*muwakkil*). The *wakīl* of Niẓāmu'l-mulk wrote to him a detailed account of what had occurred Upon receipt of the letter of the *wakīl*, Niẓāmu'l-mulk wrote a letter to the *Amīru'l-umarā*, and it ran thus -

"His Excellency the *Nawwāb* of high status, kind and generous to his humble attendant, peace be on him. After

rendering the duties of obeisance and expressing the desire of gathering honour by serving that affluence of happiness, it is submitted for the information and enlightenment of the generous mind that his *wakil* at the imperial Court, the centre of the world, has written to him, your devoted friend, that from the reports of the news-writers of Malwa who have a grudge against this humble self, information has been conveyed to your noble and excellent Majesty that this humble-self has recruited an army beyond the number permitted by the rules and regulations, has collected abundant war material and is intending to march to the Deccan your generous excellency in kindness spoke of some matters and tendered some pieces of advice to the *wakil* to be conveyed by him to his *muwakkil* (Nizāmu'l-mulk) Your Excellency, may peace be on you, you know the conditions of this region much better than those other dignitaries who have not been here and have not tasted its bitterness and sweetness because you yourself have been recently here and it is well known to your Excellency that the vile enemies are ever ready to make an assault on the country with fifty thousand and even more horses How can a *faujdār* face and prevent trouble unless he has a large force and plenty of war materials at hand? Keeping in mind the probability of trouble and considering the state of the region, this faithful servent has enlisted an adequate number of troops and has collected a good supply of war materials If people misrepresent it and resort to slander there is no remedy. As regards the charge that this humble-self has the intention to raise disturbance and rebellion, what has been presented to your beneficent-self, and been apparently believed, it is prayed to Your Excellency, may you enjoy peace, that you should yourself consider these matters and ponder more deeply on them and reflect upon my circumstances God forbid that things should have happened in the way as have been reported. If there had been any such idea in the mind of this faithful friend, would he not have acted when he was at Akbarābād and Prince Nekosiyar and his men were sending messages to him The humble-self has reverence and devotion in his heart for your exlated and gracious self. Let not any other things find a way to your beneficent heart, nor should the words of designing men,

spoken against the character of your trusted[115] servant, be entertained or approved of by your Highness.

Amiru'l-umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān became furious at that part of Nizāmul'-mulk's letter where he had written "Had there been any idea of this kind in his heart, would he not have joined Prince Nekosiyar whose men were pressing him with their messengers to do so". He dismissed Nizāmu'l-mulk from the government of Malwa[116] and (thus) exhibited his foolishness.

WAQĀ'I' : When Nizāmu'l-lmulk heard this news[117] he left a permanent deputy in *Sūba* Malwa and set out with a large force towards the Deccan. As he proceeded the *Deccanis* and the *Zamīndārs* who had been friendly disposed towards him came up and joined him. Nizāmu'l-mulk addressed himself to the task of managing and supervising the affairs of that region. When Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusin 'Alī Khān received this news, they became very much perplexed and perturbed as to how has all this happened and what a calamity has occurred? After consulting each other the *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān wrote to *Bakhshī* Sayyid Dilāwar Khān who held a *manṣab* of 4000*zat*/4000 *suwār* and had been despatched prior to conclusion of peace at Allahābād with twenty thousand horse and an equal number of foot soldiers together with the select nobles of the realm and the great Rājās to the assistance of Rājā Bhīm singh in the territory of the Rājpūts, and enjoined upon him to proceed with his troops along with the Rājās and the nobles who were with him and hasten in pursuit of Nizāmu'l-mulk, the *Faujdār* of Malwa, who had strayed away from the path of submission and obedience, and had left his own *mahāls* and had gone to the Deccan, and raised his head in rebellion there. In case he yielded he was to be sent back to the Court from whatever place he might have arrived at, and if, owing to to his innate villainity, he stood out for a fight he should be taken prisoner or killed at his (Dilāwar Khān's) discretion.

Sayyid Dilāwar Khān, accompanied by Rājā Bhīm Singh and Rājā Gaj Singh Narwārī and other leaders and chiefs of those regions, hastened, as directed by the written orders and injunctions of *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, in

pursuit of Nizāmu'l-mulk. As he arrived on the banks of the river Narbada, he crossed it with agility and speed, and then proceeded further After covering stages and travelling incessantly he entered the land of Burhanpur and encamped at a distance of five *kuroh*[118] from the camp of Nizāmu'l-mulk. (In his good nature the Nizāmu'l-mulk sent word to him (Dilāwar Khān) to the effect that it was not right (for him) to fight with the Musalmāns, and it was advisable for him to return and abandon his plan Sayyid Dilāwar Khān did not listen to him Although Nizāmu'l-mulk wanted to avoid fighting, Sayyid Dilāwar Khān was not disposed to give up his object

One night there was a heavy downpour on the camp of Dilāwar Khān accompained by thunder and lightning of much violence. Such a pitch darkness had never been seen before Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān's men struck with terror like thundering, moved from camp to camp, and death appeared to be kissing their hands Suddenly in the camp of the said Khān thunderbolts struck at some places and some horses and camels and also some men were killed There was a distance of four to five *kuroh* between the camps of Sayyid Dilāwar Khān and Nizamu'l-mulk and in between flowed a big rivulet It was so situated that if two or three armies like them set in ambush there one could not be aware of the other. Nizāmu'l-mulk selected this spot for the battle keeping the rivulet between the two armies On the day of battle he sent his artillery inside of the rivulet, pitched it there to lie in ambush so that whenever Dilāwar 'Ali Khān passes that way fire was to be opened at him[119] And this was what happened, Nizāmu'l-mulk's men took the artillery into the rivulet and pitched it to (face Dilāwar 'Ali Khan When the two armies became ready to fight,) Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khan was the first to mount his horse. He intended to pass through the rivulet and then fall upon the forces of Nizāmu'l-mulk. As soon as he entered the rivulet in which there was no other passage Nizāmu'l-mulk's men aimed the artillery towards him and fired the cannon balls and the bullets Sayyid Dilāwar Khān with number of chiefs and other leaders tasted the syrup of martyrdom. Rājā Bhīm

Bhīm and Rājā Gaj Singh Narwārī also succumbed to the wounds of the cannon balls and died in the *haudā* of the elephants and, the others, having sustained defeat took to flight

Niẓāmu'l-mulk got a great victory and success and twelve thousands men of Sayyid Dilāwar Khān were slain and almost an equal number of them were wounded. Nizāmu'l-mulk's soldiers fell upon the camp of Sayyid Dilāwar Khān and plundered all the goods and property After some time Nizāmu'l-mulk issued a proclamation forbidding the plunder and appointed his men to pick up and bring the wounded and look after them This was done. Nizām'l-mulk's men brought all the wounded and, took upon themselves the task of their sefety and treatment The expenses of medicines were borne by the government (*sarkar*) of Nizāmu'l-mulk, after finishing the work of confiscating the properties of Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and of his companions, felt relieved and entered his camp As many as fifty elephants, 2,000 horses were listed among the plundered property, and as for camels and bullocks they were beyond calculation.

WAQA'I' When the news of the battle of Niẓāmu'l-mulk with Sayyid Dilawar Khān, the death (of the aforesaid Khān, of Rājā Bhīm, Rājā Gaj Singh Narwārī) and other chieftains and leaders of the dispersal of the army, the seizure of the properties of those who had fallen, and of the further progress of Nizāmu'l-mulk reached the ears of Sayyid' Abdullāh Khān and the *Amīru'l-umarā*, Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, they lost their balanc of mind and exclaimed "What a calamity has befallen"? After much thinking and consideration because of their pesonal ingenuity, they regained their firmness and resolution and disaussed the situation. After protracted deleberation and much talk they decided upon the following plan.

Since it was the question of the honour and self respect of the relatives and kinsmen[120] who were with Sayyid 'Alam Alī Khān and properties in cash and kind were also there, it was apprehended that Niẓāmu'l-mulk who was near at hand might harm them; expediency and situation demanded that terms be made with him and that he should also be conciliated

at any cost, and that a letter should also be written to Sayyid 'Alam 'Alī Khān informing him of the dvelopments so that he might be forewarned and be enabled to take adequate precaution for preserving the security and honour of the family. After mutual conultations they decided and wrote a letter to Sayyid 'Alam 'Alī Khān. They also prepared a royal *farman* in the name of the Emperor. The *farman* which was drawn up and sent to Niẓāmu'l-mulk was as follows:-

"Of the status of nobility and government, renowned for bravery and feats of arms, deserving of kindness and generosity, the object of countless favours, the pillar of the State—let him be the recipient of royal favours. It has been reported that the pillar of the State had left his *Sūba* of Malwa to which he had been appointed, without royal permission, and had proceeded onwards. This has caused astonishment and occasioned surprise, as to what passed through the heart of that unstinting loyalist, and what apprehensions owerwhelmed him ! Whatever had happened he should have reported the same (to the Court) through an *'arẓdāsht* and than carried out any directions or injunctions that might have been issued in response to the same. Which matter and which problem which had been submitted by that excellent chief of the State (*'Umdatu'l-mulk*), has not been accepted and approved of ? If he was keen to go to the Deccan on a pleasure or hunting trip, a request for it should have been forwarded. How was it possible that permission would not be forthcoming ? But if he wanted to grace the control and supervision of that region with his own illustrious person, he should have forwarded a submission to that end It would have obtained the primary acceptance and relevant documents (*asnād*) and letters patent (*dastāwez*) would have been prepared in the royal office and would have been sent to him This complete document would have been in the hands of that choices of the sincere ones, and would have closed the doors of the short-sighted maligners If, due to the exigency of the situation some unavoidable delay had occurred in sending the authoritative letters from the Court, he should have duly waited for a while. Although, in consideration of the sincere devotion, purity of heart of that unreservedly loyal (one) no doubt has settled on

our heart the symbol of generosity, yet one should feel afraid of the tongues of the creatures of God. As the reports of the tumults and disturbances raised by the *Deccanis* of wicked disposition constantly reached the august Court, it was our desire that the government and management of all the sūbas of the Deccan be entrusted to that exalted-self. Thank God, that this plan has been materialized of its own. The benevolence of the Supreme Almighty confirms the fact that aforesaid matters be completed with the help of the unknown and the wishes of the heart should bear the desired fruit. Indeed he has executed the object of this supplicant of the threshold of God.

Verse : Beneath this heavenly canopy there is mutual love and way from heart to heart.

The *sanad* appointing him, of exalted and illustrious family, to the government and administration of all the *ṣubajāt* of the Deccan has been prepared and is now on its way. It behoves him to address himself to the task of managing the affairs and enforcing the rules and regulations. Further he should make such exertions as might compensate and remedy the evils of the period of trouble. Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān is there with kinsmen of the *Bakhshiu'l-mammalik Amiru'l-umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur. As he has been away for a long time, let no effort be spared towards providing him escort for safe journey. This should be treated as urgent. Nothing more to add.

The letter of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān addressed to Niẓāmu'l-mulk : "The prop of wealth and prosperity; the cushion of dignity and grandeur; the embodiment of liberality and munificence; supporter of the State and of the dignity of the empire; renowned for glory and valour: the asylum of refuge-taking friends; the protector of sincere friends imploring supplicants, be adorned with glory and luster-performing. After performing the prefatory duties of expressing the strong desire of union with the repository of excessive pleasure let it be disclosed to the illumined heart replete with sincerity, that it has recently been heard by us that Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān whom this sincere one had sent to Aurangabad, of prosperous foundations, only to fetch the members of our family, in the

course of his journey had behaved insolently towards that source of high dignity, and had publicised the affair in a different way Thank God he met with the consequences of what he did It is also heard that some men, due to their seditiousness and devilish nature, have written to your honourable self and impressed upon your Highness's mind certain things contrary to the ethics of sincere ones God forbid that such thoughts should cross the heart of this one, of age-long sincerity, not to speak of having been put into effect. Wherever there is complete sincerity and friendship some bee-natured in polished words concoct stories and create a path for themselves God forbid, had it been a fact, it would have been reported by the humble-self As recently some matters which might have proved a dead weight on his (?) pure heart have been reported to his (?) and how muchsoever the short-sighted ones might have impressed your mind otherwise but as this friend of your is well aware of the purity of heart and sincerity of faith of that pillar of the State truth has been submitted to His Majesty in detail God be praised, friends have become happy and are pleased and the enemies have been humiliated. By the favours and kindness of His Majesty an exalted *farmān* entrusting to your Highness the government and administration of all the *ṣūbajāt* of the Deccan has been despatched, and it is certain that your Highness would have very soon the honour of receiving it May he be blessed and prosperous with it ! The happy and prosperous son Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, enjoying the fruits of life, who is there along with the kinsmen of this sincere friend of yours, is about this time intending to start for this side Whatever attention Your Highness may bestow on furnishing them with escort and sending them here in safety would be much appreciable

WAQA'I' The mother of Sayyid Saifu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān, brother's son of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain Alī Khān, who was in the Deccan, had set out for Hindustan before the tumult of battle between Niẓāmu'l-mulk and Sayyid Dilāwar Khān had occurred and the latter was killed Saifu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān had a number of troops with him, and some merchants (*saudagarān*) and travellers (*musafirān*) also accompanied him. When they arrived near

Burhanpur, the seat of pleasure, he halted there for a day because he had heard that a battle had recently occurred between Sayyid Dilāwar Khān, the *Bakhshi* of *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and Nizāmu'l-mulk and, he feared, lest Nizāmu'l-mulk should interfere and cause some trouble to him. He sent a trustworthy messenger to Nizāmu'l-mulk and requested him to furnish escort for them Nizāmu'l-mulk provided a suitable escort and displayed very proper and polite conduct. He issued strict instructions to his men saying that he regarded the mother of Sayyid Saifu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān as his own mother, and urged upon them to attend on her and escort her with the greatest care and protection. The aforesaid men conducted them to place of safety and security, attending on her all the way.

WAQĀ'I'· *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān had already written to Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, his brother's son and his adopted son, that Nizāmu'l-mulk had killed Sayyid Dilāwar Khān, the *Bakhshi* of his *sarkār*, and that his army of 40,000 horse and an equal number of foot had been plundered and scattered. He wrote further that news received recently was that Nizāmu'l-mulk had commenced his march onwards. As the addressee a fortunate officer, happens to be there with the kinsmen and workshops (*kārkhānajāt*) and the *Nāzim* entertains evil intentions in his heart, it behoves that fortunate one, to collect a large force to protect and preserve the honour of the family, and as regards the expenses of enlisting the soldiers, by no means anything should be spared and withheld

In accordance with the written directions of *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, in a very short time Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān assembled around him a force[121] of 30 000 horse and a larger number of foot and engaged them in his service on very liberal daily pay (*'ulūfa*), and by giving them horses, elephants, robes, gold and silver in cash, and jewelled arms, he attached them to himself.

WAQĀ'I'· When the exalted *farmān*, along with the letter of *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, containing the commission for assumption and conduct of the administration and Government of all the *ṣūbājāt* of the Deccan and the direction to provide an escort to Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān,

reached Niẓāmu'l-mulk near Aurangābād, the seat of prosperity, he caused a *farmān-i-bāri* (a wooden pavilion to receive the royal decree) to be put up, received the *farmān* with due honour and respect, placed it on his head which was full of honour and pride, performed the rites of respect and salutation and caused the drums to be beaten, and celebrated the event with great eclat and rejoicing,

After *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān's return from the Deccan, the charge of administration and governance of the *ṣūbājāt* of that region was virtually left in the hands of Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, and the leaders and the *Zamīndars* of the Deccan had assembled to support Sayyid, Ālam 'Alī Khān. In order to detach the *Deccanis* from Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, Nizāmu'l-mulk sent copies of the royal *farmān*, bearing the seal of the *Qāzi* of that place to Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān He wrote to him saying that His Majesty, the Lord of world, had committed to his charge the administration and supervision of all the *subājāt* of the Deccan. But, it is heard that he (Ālam 'Alī Khān) the refuge of purity and nobility has assembled a large army around him; it is, therefore, being communicated to him in a friendly spirit that he should refrain from undergoing the expenses of a large army; and that he should discharge whatever troops he has recruited. But if he entertains a desire of (the conquest of) Hindustān, the army which the writer, his friend has, would suffice.

On the receipt of the copy of the aforesaid *farmān* most of the *Zamīndārs* and the chiefs of the Deccan who had joined Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān left him, and went over to Niẓāmu'l-mulk Nizāmu'l-mulk wrote replies to the imperial *farmān* and to the letter of *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān saying that although he had gone to the Deccan without authority (*sanad*) and permission of His Enlightened Majesty, when the exalted *farmān* to this effect was received by him, he deemed it as legal authority and marched to Aurangabad, the seat of happiness.

The contents of the '*arzdāsht* of Nizāmu'l-mulk in reply to the *farmān* - "*Arzdāsht* of the humblest of the slaves, Nizāmu'l-mulk who after fulfilling the rites and duties of paying respects and affirming his servitude, devotion and allegiance humbly

submits to those who enjoy nearness to the Court of magnificence and grandeur, and to the gatherers of felicity and exaltation from the celebrated threshold of heavenly dignity, that the exlated *farmān* expressing the order of fate, which was addressed with the greatest of favoures and patronage to your Majesty's humblest of slaves, directing him to assume control and administration of the *ṣūbājāt* of the Deccan has by its service honoured and distinguished him. This sincere devotee to Your Majesty who is ready to sacrifice his life, received it with due honour and customary ceremonial of saluation and obeisance, and placed it on the crown of his head which was glorified and sanctified thereby. The benevolent pen wrote to the effect that this, slave of the threshold, lofty as heaven, had left the province of Malwa and proceeded to the Deccan without permission from the Court, the source of generosity; that this had caused great surprise; that if some affairs and momentous business relating to that land had rendered such a step to be necessary, he, the sincere devotee to His Majesty's cause, should have sent information thereof to the gracious Court, and after the receipt of a reply should have acted according to the directions which might have been conveyed. Oh lord of the universe (*qibla*), may Your Majesty, peace be on you, the truth is like this. As at that time the devilish enemy (Marhaṭṭās) had collected in large numbers in the vicinity of Aurangabad, the seat of fortune, and intended to march upon Burhanpur, the abode of happiness, and also upon *Ṣūba* Malwa; for this reason the control and management of the *Ṣūba* of Malwa which was under your slave fell into disorder. Moreover, the honour of the family of the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik* who was at Aurangabad also concerned me lest he should be exposed to any danger. As the distance was great and it would have taken much time in dispatching petitions and waiting for their replies, delay was not considered advisable and expendient. Acting under necessity, the humble-self hastened with a large army to the threatened spot. By the grace of God and through the good fortune of the Emperor, immediately on the arrival of the army, the accursed unable to offer resistance took to flight The narrow-minded persons, however, took a perverted or wrong view of your slave's

motive in leaving Malwa, and on this pretext made baseless representations to your Majesty What was the sense in this slave of your threshold acting contrary to the wishes of Your Majesty, withholding reports of what had happened, and not waiting till your Majesty's order had been received. Had this been done by newcomers, who have not yet learnt the etiquette of the Court, it would not have been surpising But how could it be possible for on old servant whose every limb and bone is saturated with the salt of fidelity and devotion? The details relating to disturbance and sedition raised by the mischievous men of this region are well known to your Enlightened Majesty, particularly the fact that despite the presence of His late Majesty, *Khuld Makān* (Aurangzeb) who was encamped here for long time, they displayed much wickedness and defiance, and now that this land was devoid of a Governor, had any untoward thing happened, would it be a matter of surprise? On this account finding no other course more suited than to personally hasten towards the spot, I reached there with all speed. When the *farmān*, like the decree of fate, directing Your Majesty's slave to assume control of the administration of all the *ṣūbajāt* of the Deccan had the honour of being received (he was left with no other alternative but obey it). Although the intention of Your Majesty's slave was first to complete the task of punishing and subduing that group of vile malcontents, and then seek Your Majesty's permission to proceed on pilgrimage (to Mecca,) which was his long standing wish, but deeming disobedience of Your Majesty's command as contrary to the etiquettes and rules of service, considered the execution of Your Majesty's direction to be higher than service to God With the favour of God and the grace of the Emperor he would soon reach there and would do as instructed by the benevolent Court May the Sun of splendour and dignity of His Majesty shine for ever "

Reply to the letter of the *Amiru'l-umara* "May the excellent *Nawwab* of lofty titles and of exalted rank, *Nawwāb Amiru'l-umara* enjoy health and security. After discharging the rites of supplication and expressing the desire of enjoying the happiness of meeting your auspicious self, it is being disclosed to your gracious enlightened mind that Your Highness' letter, scented

with the perfumes of kindness, had been duly received, and this supplicant, has felt happy and glorified with its contents. It had been inscribed by the pen of friendship that Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān had been appointed to fetch the men of the tribe and member of your Highness's family and that he, of his own, began to behave insolently and became a source of trouble though he had been asked by Your Highness's friend to exert to his utmost and take all possible precautions in escorting your Highness's family members ! May the *Nawwāb Amīru'l-umarā* enjoy health and prosperity. In spite of the fact that this friend of yours acquainted and informed the aforesaid Khān and warned him through reliable messengers, the said Khān neither listened to reason nor did he withdraw his hands from battle and conflicts; at last what he saw was the result of his own doings This sincere friend is steady in his loyalty to your Highness as ever. There is not the slightest exaggeration in what has been submitted to His Majesty May God keep you safe and sound. As this supplicant, impelled solely by the need of punishing and chastising the seditionists who had raised their heads in rebellion in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad, the seat of auspiciousness, and caused trouble and affliction in various ways to the people of that part of the country, and also anxious for the honour of your Highness's family, considered the sending of a report of the matter to the royal Court and giving information of all that had happened and waiting for its reply inadvisable because of length of distance, he set out with all speed and by forced marches arrived at the place. Laying aside the questions of other calamities, the devastation of the country, and the ruin of the gentry at the hands of the unworthy infidels, he had great apprehension that God forbid some danger and mischief should befall that family members and dependents of your Highness Thank God, that as a result of the speedy arrival of the victorious army everything went well and the malcontents, being unable to offer resistance, dispersed in the wilderness of misfortunes Mischief-mongers represented this matter to His Majesty and to you in the reverse manner and turned the royal mind against him, the devoted supplicant. Thank God that truth has ultimately prevailed and the straight conduct of this supplicant one has been rightly understood.

Truth comes uppermost. In reply to the exalted *farmān* an *'arzdāsht* has been despatched, and it is hoped that this petition would be placed before His Majesty at the proper time. If God the Almighty so wills I shall proceed with all haste to the seat of prosperity and send off the men of the family and all the properties of your Highness (*Kārkhānajāt-i-sarkār*) with all possible care and precaution. There is nothing more to pen."

WAQĪ'. On receipt of the exalted *farmān* appointing him to control and administer all the *ṣubajāt* of the Deccan, Niẓāmu'l-mulk found himself fully armed with authority[122] and deeming it a strong argument in his favour he speedily marched from Burhanpur, the seat of happiness, and arrived near Aurangabad, the seat of prosperity. Sayyid 'Ālam Khān, leaving all the people and his kinsmen in the fort, himself mached with a considerable army to face Niẓāmu'l-mulk. The latter sent for a Mughal[123] *Jamā dār* with four or five thousand troops and gave him secret instruction to the effect that he should feign to have become disgusted and displeased with him, make a show of securing his discharge, show extreme anger, obtain his pay from him (Niẓāmu'l-mulk) go to the camp of Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and get himself enrolled in his army. When the battle commenced he was to do what he could. The aforesaid *Jamā'dār* did as he had been asked by Niẓāmu'l-mulk, raised tumult and cut the ropes of his tents. At last Niẓāmu'l-mulk gave his horses and camels to him in lieu of his pay and bid him to take his depature and go to the camp of Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān

As the above-named Sayyid got information of this incident, but being absolutely unaware of the deceit underlying it, received the *Jamā'dār* with all honour in his service. On the day of battle when both the armies came face to face with each other, and fighting started with arrows and guns many worthy men of both sides tasted the syrup of martyrdom and others were wounded. At last, according to the arrangement (plan) between Niẓāmu'l-mulk and the *Jamā'dār*, the former with a force of 50,000 horse and an equal number of foot attacked Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān in front, while from the rear the above-mentioned *Jamā'dār* fell on him with his own retainers. Thus they hemmed the Khān in the middle and brought to him the

day of dark fate, ruin and destruction. Seated on his litter on the back of the elephant, Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān turned towards every direction, shot his arrows, and also received arrows on his own breast. The battle raged for full one *pahr* and during this conflict ten to twelve thousands of men of both sides were killed and wounded. When Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān was himself in a tight position, he got down from his elephant and drawing his sword, fell fighting bravely, and attained martyrdom. Nizāmu'l-mulk was favoured by fortunes with victory and success.

WAQĀ'I' : After this fresh victory which brought unbounded happiness and pleasure to Nizāmu'l-mulk, he confiscated and laid his hands upon the properties of Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and of his followers and attendants. He then collected the wounded and had their injuries looked after with due care and attention. Then he sent a petition to His Majesty, and also wrote a letter to *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.

Content of the *'arzdāsht* to the Emperor. The humblest of the devoted slaves, Nizāmu'l-mulk, after performing salutations and obeisance and giving expression to the requisites of servitude and prostration before the place where supplicant stand around the throne of the empire begs to submit as follows—The report of the disturbance and rebellions raised by the seditionists of the Deccan in the neighborhood of Aurangabad, the seat of prosperity, and the devastation caused in that territory by the malefactors, and also about the departure of Your Majesty's humble servant with a suitable force with the firm determination to punish and chastise that group of villainous people have been already conveyed and must have reached His Majesty by now. As a band of silly and shortsighted persons[124] had collected round Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, the nephew and adopted son of the chief *Bakhshī*. the *Amiru'l-umarā* Bahādur, the aforesaid Sayyid being led by their seductive persusaion, became a source of rebellion and picked up a quarrel with me, the slave of the Court, lofty as the heaven. Although His Majesty's slave wrote repeatedly to the aforesaid Sayyid and also sent to him copies of the exalted *farmān* bearing the seal of the *Qāẓī* which was issued in the name of the humblest of the slaves, by which His Majesty was

graciously pleased to appoint him to the government of the whole of the Deccan, and also sent a trustworthy person to him, he did not set his feet on the path of reasonableness and gave himself up only to be killed This devoted slave with all possible care and protection has brought his properties and those of his adherents into the imperial custody As for transmitting the same to His Majesty's Court, whatever orders are issued would be carried out, and if concerning the matter any person represents things differently, their words should not be believed

The letter (to the *Amīru'l-umarā*), *Nawwāb Amīru'l-umarā*, kind hearted and patron of suppliants-God bless him After observing the dues of service and expressing the desire of meeting your honour, which has alchemic virtue, it is submitted for the information and approval of the enlightened-one full of kindness, that an account of the clash with the dear ones of high status and great dignity, Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, at the instigation of a body of riffraffs who had recently become friendly with the aforesaid Khān and the unintended fate which befell that dear one because of his neglect of due precaution and the weaning of his friend has been duly included in the *'arzdāsht* to His Majesty Its contents would have enlightened the mind of that glorious-self In short Your Highness's well-wisher's writing to the aforesaid noble and sending a trustworthy person with a copy of the exalted *farmān*, together with communication of Your Highness, who is so kind, it did not produce any effect whatever on him At the instigation of interested and designing men, he obstructed the path of your Highness's friend, prepared himself for war and conflict, did not set his feet on the path of reason, and allowed himself to be killed By God the contingency which gave rise to this great calamity caused immense sorrow and heaviness of heart to this sincere friend God is a witness to the fact that had the deceased not listened to the words of the selfish, vicious, and mischievous persons, the matters would not have gone so far. I wish that dear one had acted according to the written directions and the words of this friend of your Highness Every time the memory of that young plant of the rose-garden of happiness occurs, it renders loss of sense. Although for this borrowed

and transitory life this is the eventual roadway; yet reflecting upon human nature and the excellence and beauty of that rose-bud of the garden of fame, the grief and regret that finds its way into the sincere heart of the writer can be described neither in speech nor in words. May the Almighty God overwhelm him with His grace and mercy. Your Highness's sincere friend has taken possession of the properties of the deceased and of his companions and has preserved them with care As for the sending or keeping the same any direction that be issued would be acted upon. Nothing more to pen.

WAQĀ'I' · When the frightening[125] news of the killing of Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and the dispersal of the troops accompanying him reached Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, the two brothers were plunged into the greatest anxiety and distress They repeatedly held discussions and deliberations and at length it was decided that one of the brothers should set out for the Deccan with the *taura* and the other should proceed to Shāhjahānābād Having arrived in the Deccan he should take revenge and seek reparation from Nizāmu'l-mulk, and should look after the family members stationed there, and should carefully manage the affairs of the *sūbas* of the Deccan. And whoever went to Shāhjahānābād he should take care of the royal princes who were confined in the fort, guard the province and should wait for the news. If, God forbid, anything went wrong in the Deccan, the other brother should bring out another *taura* from the fort of Shāhjahānābād and take the revenge Although the exigency of the situation and the requirements of wisdom and foresight did not warrant the two brothers to be separated from each other, but under pressure of pre-destination, *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bahādur, prepared himself to proceed towards[126] the Deccan, taking with him Sayyid Ghairat Khān and others, sister's son, brother's son and also the Emperor, while Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, accompanied by a large number of nobles, set out for Shāhjahānābād.

Ḥaidar Qulī Khān who had lately come from Gujarat and had shared in the exertions and troubles in the affair of the fort of Allahbad, was entrusted with the command of the Imperial Artillery.[127] Distinguished by the Emperor by being appointed to

the office of the Superintendent of Artillery, he joined the retinue of the King of kings By reason of his good judgement, generosity and spirited resolution, the afore said Khān prepared and rearranged the requirements of the artillery and imparted it a new organisation. He devoted such care and attention to the condition of the musketeers, the artillery men and of the other clerks and subordinates of the *topkhāna* that every one of them became satisfied and contented. Thus the three years pay of the men employed in the artillery department which was due from the government was realised and paid, and besides that he gave away large sum of money of his own and distributed it among them

WAQĀ'I' : *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān wished that as this commotion and disturbance had originated from the Mughals he should strike a blow at *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur who was present in the Court so that Nizāmu'l-mulk and other Mughals may be frightened and the deaths of Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and Sayyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān be avenged. The *I'timādu'd-daulāh* getting scent of this move,[128] collected a large force around him and he retired to his mansion in Akbarābād situated in the (palaces) quarters (*mahāl hāī*) of Rājā Bhoj and strengthened himself there. On the eastern side the river Jamuna guarded the house. The aforesaid Khān secured that other sides by digging a ditch round the mansion. *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān Bahādur had prepared his troops to attack the mansion; but on the advice of certain friends the plan was not put into action When *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khan Bahādur heard of it, he got ready with his followers and went to Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān and said "there is a general rumour that a force is being assembled for killing me; if such be the case, I am present here; do whatever you think should be done to me "

One day Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khan got it into their head that till the troops were made ready and *I'timādu'd-daulāh* received intelligence thereof, they should send the shadow of God, the merciful Caliph to the blessed mausoleum of His Majesty *Firdaus*

Āshiāni (Shāhjahān) which is situated in Tājganj which was very close to the mansion of *I'timādu'd-daulāh* so that the Emperor may remain there for a couple of days and amuse himself with the scene of the garden there. They too would go there with a force on a pretence of mounting guard on, and taking care of His Majesty and leaving His Majesty in the said mausoleum they would carry out the objects of their hearts.

When the garden of Tājganj had been made ready and all preparations in the mausoleum had been almost completed, *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muḥammad Amin Khān forcibly seized the boats on the river Jamuna, and crossing over to the other side of the river he firmly took up his residence there and fixed a large force to protect the same. When *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Ali Khān heard of this move he postponed the plans that he had made. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān who till then was in Akbarābād, impelled by his foresight and prudence, intervened, explained to the situation the *Amiru'l-umara* to refrain from plans because it was known to God only as what would happen in the event of a conflict with *I'timādu'd-daulāh.* In this way he averted the turmoil. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān called both *Amiru'l-umarā'* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān and *I'timādu'd-daulāh* together, placed food before them and made them partake of it and also take an oath and enter into a compact of agreement.

WAQĀ'I' : Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān bade farewell to *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muḥammad Amin Khan, Sayyid Ghairat Khān, Sayyid Jamālu'd-din Khān, his sister's sons, *Samsāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-Daurān* Bahādur, Ẓafar Khān Bahādur, Sanjar Khān *Wālāshāhi*, Rājā Gopal Singh, the Rājā of the Bahadowar, Ḥaidar Quli, Khan, Raja Ratan Chand and other great nobles and high *manṣabdārs* in the victorious retinue of His Majesty the Caliph of the time and lord of the world and in the company of the *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān for the Deccan. After this he himself set[129] out from their and after two or three marches be encamped at the village Nandgaon Barsana, near Sarāi Chatta (?). *Amiru'l-umarā* Ḥusain 'Ali Khān took with him one crore and eighty lakhs rupees and set out with the afore-said nobles, *manṣabdārs* and

the Caliph of the age and the lord of the world towards the Deccan for the purpose of taking revenge against Nizāmu'l-mulk. They pitched their camps at a place, 7 *kuroh* from Akbarābād on that side midway between it and Fatahpur Sikri. A strange thing happened (there). A mendicant by name Hemaaj Jatthi belonging to the Seora (Saiva ?) community was friendly towards Rājā Ratan Chand[130] The abovementioned Rājā had perfect faith in him, indeed he was a real saint The said saint, on the request of the abovementioned Rājā, went out on foot with an attendant to the forest to find out what was to happen to the *Amiru'l-umarā* who was on his way to the Deccan to revenge himself on Nizāmu'l-mulk As that forest was the royal park (*ramna*) for hunting, the sentinels (*qarawulān*) who were employed for guarding the park seized the saint, thrashed him and handled him roughly and put him under arrest They falsely charged him with hunting in the royal park and killing game there However, much the saint protested that he had nothing to do with game or hunt and that he had come to the forest at the request of Rājā Ratan Chand and the *Amiru l-umarā* to take omen for them and, therefore, he should be let off, the *qarāwals* did not leave him At last the attendant who had gone with the saint managed to come to the *Amiru'l-umarā* and Rājā Ratan Chand and conveyed to them what had happened They secured the release of the saint and summoned him to their presence. The saint told them that his calculation was that the time was not propitious for the enterprise and so the journey should not be continued But the *Amiru'l-umarā* did not listen to him and resumed his march from there.

After covering the different stages of the journey, when they arrived at Bhusawar,[131] the *Amiru'l-umarā* proposed to appoint Sayyid Ghairat Khān, his sister's son, in place of Haidar Quli Khān, to the command of the royal artillery on the ground that the latter was a Mughal and there was no love lost between the Mughals and the *Amiru'l-umarā*. So why not entrust this service to one of his relatives ? Accordingly, he resolved that either the next day or the day after that he would take him to the Caliph of the age and persuade His

Majesty to confer on him the dress of honour pertaining to this post and hand over its charge to him.

WAQĀ'I' : As the hour of death of the *Amīru'l-umarā* and Sayyid Ghairat Khān had struck, the dismissal of Haidar Qulī Khān and the taking away of the artilley department from him became fixed up in their mind. When I'*timādud-daulah* Muhammad Amīn Khān[132] and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān heard of this, they began to writhe with anger like a snake. They held consultation with each other and said, "If they take away the command of the artillery from us, what shall we be able to accomplish. So whatever is to be done, must be done at once It is better and wiser to kill the snake before it harms". They gave anxious thought and reflected much over this question but could not work out a plan of action. Mīr Ḥaidar Beg Khān,[133] a Tūrānī Mughal and one of the followers of *I'timadu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur, who since the day of the confinement killing of the martyred king, Farru*kh*siyar, had been heaving painful sighs, and used to say : "I am the killer of the murderer of the deceased king", said to *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur,"Entrust this duty to me, and I shall manage and perform it" *I'timadu'd-daulāh* applauded his resolve and committed the task to him. Mīr Haidar Beg Khān respectfully bowed to that noblemen and took the responsibility of the matter upon himself.

WAQĀ'I' . On the 6th of Zu'lhijja 1132 of the sacred *Hijra* era, on wednesday exactly at two *pahr* of day *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, acccompaned by His Majesty and many nobles and Khāns of exalted status, arrived near Toda Bhim He dismouted between the two hills and set up the tents there The established practice was that first His Sacred Majesty entered the royal pavilion. Then he was followed by the *Amīru'l-umarā* accompanied by the nobles and a force of 30,000 horses and an equal number of foot soldiers in the wake of the Emperor Thereafter making all necessary arrangements for convenience and comfort he sought leave of the Emperor and went two his tent.

It was in accordahce with the same practice that first His Majesty, accompanied by Haidar Qulī Khān, Muhammad Amīn Khān, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, Sayyid Ghairat Khān and

other high nobles and *manṣabdārs*, arrived in the camp, dismounted, and then retired to his private apartment (*diwān-i khās*). Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Qamaru'd-din Khān stayed back in front of their own tents In the meantime, *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān arrived with his troops and reached the royal tent. The troops accompanying him according to custom, remained outside The *Amīru'l-umarā* with Mīr Musharraf, Khalīl Khān, Mīr *Nawwāb* Auliā, and a few others of the nobles and followers went inside the royal tent and sat there for sometime. As His Majesty had retired to his private apartment he sent betel leaves from inside and allowed him to depart The *Amīru'l-umarā*, having taken the betel leaves, came out of the tent with his companions. He then got into palanquin (waiting for him) in the courtyard and holding the tube of a pipe (*huqqa*) with his left hand engaged himself in smoking as he was carried along.

Mīr Haidar Beg Khān, who was standing at that place with a few other Mughals, held in his hands a petition against I'timādu'd-daulāh Muhammad Amīn Khān complaining of oppression. He submitted the same. As the *Amīru'l-umarā* had the tube of *huqqa* in his left hand he took the petition with his right hand, and began to read it In the meanwhile, Mīr Ḥaidar Beg Khān who was resolved to sacrifice his life for the cause of his master came close to the palanquin, and drawing a dagger which he had in his belt, struck it into the stomach of the *Amīru'l-umarā* with great speed and agility and killed him The other Mughals who were with him surrounded the palanquin, over turned it, and threw out the corpse of the *Amīru'l-umarā* upon the ground. Mīr Haidar Beg Khān severed *Amīru'l-umrā* Husain 'Alī Khān's head from his body Mīr Musharraf who was renowned as a good and brave warrior, and the son of *Nawwāb* Auliā who was very closely related to *Amīru'l-umarā* and enjoyed much confidence, rushed with sword, in their hands Mīr Musharraf, who was a protege of *Amīru'l-umarā* and held the rank of 5,000 *zat* 5 000 *suwār*, attacked the Mughal and received two wounds with sword and arrow. The son of Mīr *Nawwāb* Auliā who was a mere stripling and had not yet tasted the fruit of youth and knew not the enjoyment of life and whose cheeks had only just been covered with the

marks of manhood[135], grappled with Mīr Haidar Beg Khān with small arms and killed him then and there. He himself drank the cup of death and fell on the dead body of the *Amiru'l-umarā*. A sweeper who had been in the service of the *Amiru'l-umarā* for a long time and had received many favours from him; drew his sword, over his master's corpse and after a great deal of fighting and killing, sacrificed his life for his master. The vagabonds of the camp then came up and thrust a stick of thorny Karial tree into the rectum of the *Amiru'l-umarā*.

Mīr Musharraf, Khalīl Khān, and the other compaions, after the murder of the *Amiru'l-umarā* retired to their own tents and remained vigilant. *I'timādu'd-daulah* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur and Haidar Qulī Khān seated His Majesty on his elephant and took every care and precaution for his safety.[136] Royal orders were issued that the treasures and other properties of the murdered ones should be plundered and destroyed. This was done. The men of the camp and other vagabonds fell on his tent and the property and plundered it so much so that no trace was left Sayyid Ghairat Khān and Sayyid Jamāl 'Alī Khān, the sister's sons of Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, hearing of what had happened, came out of their tents, and each one mounted an elephant, rushed to the spot, and engaged themselves in battle with arrows and muskets. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān who was in attendance on His Majesty said to one of his matchlockmen[137] "what are you looking at, strike and fire ?". The matchlockmen pointed his matchlock towards Sayyid Ghairat Khān and fired. Suddenly a ball struck at his chest. Sayyid Ghairat Khān, spreading his legs on the litter of the elephant fell down dead. Sayyid Jamāl 'Alī Khān being hit in his head by an arrow jumped down from his elephant and ran away. *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān made the elephant of Sayyid Ghairat Khān to kneel down and threw down his corpse on the ground.

One crore[138] and eighty lakhs of rupees in cash and the other properties of the murdered ones fell into the hands of the vagabonds. Rājā Ratan Chand wanted to leave his tent and to take flight in his palanquin. The *harkāras* (reporters) reported his intended move, and some people hastened and seized him

with the palanquin The said Rājā was sitting in the palanquin, had a rosary in his hand and was shedding tears. He was revolving the beads of the rosary which was in his hands, and every now and then rubbed his eyes with his handkerchief to wipe out the tears. He was ordered to be put in confinement. After being beaten and flogged he was thrown into prison. Muhkama, the son of Chūrā jāt, who, too, intended to escape, was brought as a captive He offered to embrace Islām, but His Imperial Majesty on grounds of expediency refused to give his consent to it. He was given a robe of honour and allowed to leave

Rājā Muhkam Singh, one of the companions of the murdered *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān who held the rank of 5,000 zāt/5,000 *suwār* and belonged to the Khatrī community, had the honour of an audience (of His Majesty), and was favoured with the grant of a special robe of honour, one elephant and one lakh rupees in cash for enlisting troops Haidar Quli Khān, the protector of the State and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, the emblem of power, were ordered to console Mīr Musharraf and bring him (before the royal presence). The aforesaid noblemen went to the tent of the said Mīr and having consoled and pacified him brought him He was distinguished with increase in his rank carrying his *mansab* to 7,000 *zāt*/7,000 *suwār* Zafar Khān Bahādur and Rājā Gopāl Singh (of) Bhadāwar had the honour of an audience of the Emperor Zafar Khan Bahādur was elevated to the *mansab* of 7,000 *zāt* 7,000 *suwār*, and he was appointed third *Bakhshī* Rājā Gopāl Singh received the rank of 4,000 *zāt*/4,000 *suwār* *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur was favoured with the *mansab* of 8,000 *zāt* /8,000 *suwār* and the title of *I'timadu'd-daulah*, and he was promoted to the high office of the *Wazīr* of the Empire, and the inkstand and cushion of *Wizārat* were given to him *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur was also raised to the rank of 8,000 *zāt* /8,000 *suwār*, got the title of *Amīru'l-manzilat* and was appointed to the office of the first *Bakhshī* and (thus) became *Bakhshīu'l-mamālik* Qamaru'd-dīn Khān received the *mansab* of 7,000 *zāt* /7,000 *suwār*, got the office of the second *Bakhshī*, and was appointed to the office of the pages and of the *Dīwān-i-khās* (*dāroghai-i-khawāsān wa*

dīwān-i-khas ma'mūir gardīd). Ḥaidar Quli Khān was favoured with the *manṣab* of 8,000 *zāt* /8,000 *suwār*, and he was confirmed in his previous office of the commandant of the royal artillery. In this manner a large number of His Majesty's servants received promotions in ranks and were entrusted with various offices, both at and outside the Court, as a result of which their heads soard to the zenith of honours and glory.

During the course of the plunder of the properties of *Amiru'l-umarā* Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, a man had picked up two bags full of cash (*zar-i-naqd*). He had not opened them and wanted to take them to the money changer (*sarrāf*) and exchange the money with gold *muhrs* of less weight and lighter to carry. He did so. When he opened the bags he found both of them full of *ashrafis* (gold coins). he then turned away and went back. Another person composed a couplet recording the date of the beginning[139] of the reign and in praise of His Majesty. "Thou wert a bright star; now thou art a moon— Joseph came out of prison, and became a king."

His Majesty, the shadow of God, All merciful, halted at that place for three days after the murder of Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. After offering consolation and distributing offices of trust,[140] he issued *farmāns* to the governors of the provinces. The *farmān* issued to Niẓāmu'l-mulk was as follows : "May the protector of the dominion and government; occupant of the high position endowed with breavery and valour; the pillar of the State, the supporter of Caliphate (empire); the best of sincere and prudent ones; the choicest of the sincere friends be ever recipient of the favours and bounties of the King of kings. God be praised and thanks due to Him that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān has met with the punishment his actions deserved and has got the requital of the deeds that he had done. He received the effective punishment in a most agreeable manner and his insolence and bad behaviour have been avenged in the very way our heart desired. Thus, on the 6th *Zul-hijja*, 1132 *Hijra*, the said Khān met his death at the hands of our warriors and farseeing devotees in the neighbourhood of Toda Bhim between two hills; and at about the same time his honourless (*bi-ghairat*) nephew (sister's son) with three or four others met their deaths with disgrace and infamy, and his other followers

became wanderers in the deserts of adversity. Those who bowed their heads in obeisance and submission were spared and were granted amnesty and were distinguished with honours and ranks The head of the deceased[141] Husain 'Alī Khān has been sent to you, the most excellent of the State It behoves your highness, after offering thanks to the threshold of God, the most High, for this affair, you should leave a permanent deputy in charge of your province and hasten with all speed to the Court so that we may be mutually gratified with seeing each other".

Farmān[142] addressed to Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur; "May the brave and courageous, daring and intrepid one, the most illustrious of the Rājās, the best of the sincere and faithful ones, Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, be hopeful of favours and kindness of the King. Let it be known to him, and it should not remain hidden or a secret, that the account of the degree of his intimacy devotion, and a real manner of his sincerity and fidelity, were reported in summary and in detail to His Sacred Majesty. It has imparted a deep impression upon the benevolent heart Praise and thanks to God that on 6th *Zul-hijja* 1132 *Hijri*, on Wednesday, at about midday, Husain 'Alī Khān and his disgraceful nephew (*hamshīra zāda*) were killed by the brave warriors near Toda Bhim and most of their followers and attendants submitted to the orders of the Court and many of them became scattered in the deserts of misfortunes. On this great occasion your eminent self should offer praise and thanks to God, and proclaim aloud the joyful tidings throughout your *sūba* by the beat of drums As it is the desire of our heart to inflict chastisement upon 'Abdullāh Khān it is incumbent upon you to leave there a regular deputy (*nā'ib*) and hasten with all speed towards this side with a suitable force The addressee should treat this as urgent."

The exalted *farmān* addressed to Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāī* :— 'May the prop of State and Dominion, of high position in bravery and dignity· unique in sincerity, and matchless in friendship, the chosen of his race; and the most excellent of the relatives and supporters be confident of the favours and kindness of the King of kings Let it be known to him that by the grace of God, on 6th of *Zu'l-hijja*, 1132 *Hijri*, Husain 'Alī

Khān and Ghairat Khān who were unlike-Sayyids were put to the sword as a retribution for their bad behaviour and wicked insolance, and their vicious deeds and conduct recoiled upon them. Most of their followers took upon their shoulders the saddle-cloth of submission and obedience, and many others became vagbaonds in the deserts of adversity and adopted life of disgrace and infamy. Thanks and praises to God that punishment has been inflicted in the manner in which our heart desired, and our authority in the empire has been established As the work of control and the directions of the affairs of the State have since long been carried on with the advice and consultation of the ancestors of Your Highness of illustrious family and now Your Highness, characterized by bravery and sincerity, is engaged in the same duty with the same sincerity and devotion, there are many matters pertaining to the Court and country which depend upon the advice of Your Highness, the protector of the the State, and moreover, our royal mind is set on punishing 'Abdullāh Khān; it behoves you to proceed speedily to the gracious Court with a large army, immediately on receipt of the exalted *farmān*, without delaying even for a moment, you should immediately reach here."

The *farmān* addressed to 'Abdu's-Samad Khān, the *Nāzim* of *Sūba* Lahore.- May the Khān, the symbol of power the recipient of the grace and of the favours of the All-Merciful God, the chosen of the sincere ones, devoid of affectation, the choicest of the faithfull friends-be a partaker of the favours and bounties of the Almighty God. Incalculable thanks to God, the cherisher of mankind, that the dirt and rubbish of the wrothless lives of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān were blown away by the wind of justice and retribution; the world was cleansed and purified, and the people of the Empire were made happy. In other words, on 6th of the sacred *Zul-hijja* 1132 *Hijri* the above-mentioned persons were killed by (our) brave warriors. As 'Abdullāh Khān, brother of the above mentioned Husain 'Alī Khān, is living as a vagrant in the victinity of Shāhjahānābād, it is necessary that punishment be inflcted on him and that he should be taught a lesson. *Farmāns* containing peremptory orders summoning the protector of the State,

Nizāmu'l-mulk, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of the Deccan. Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Awadh and the supporter of the State, Rājā Jai Singh, have been despatched; and they are on their way to the Court It behoves you, who are consistent in sincere friendship, to hasten so as to arrive here before others, and take a share in the affairs of the Government By no means should you delay even for a while and hasten to the Court with all possible speed."

WAQĀ'I' When after the issuance of the *farmāns* and and waiting for the arrival of Abdu's-Samad Khān, Niẓāmu'l-mulk, Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*, and Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, as none of these personages arrived, His Majesty marched from that place towards the imperial metropolis of Shāhjahānbād. Chūrā Jāt, who was in reality an adherent of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, came with a large following, and having had the honour of an audience became the recipient of imperial favours As on that highway there were several villages which belonged to the *Zamīndāri* of the aforesaid Chūrā,[143] he petitioned His Majesty that the victorious army should march along a certain route which lay between the hills, lofty as sky, and thorny jungles, for the purpose of protecting the above mentioned villages. His proposal was accepted, and the said Jāt was appointed as a guide to the army. The said Jāt leaving the villages of his *zamindāri* and his *ta'lluqa* to his right, took the army to the left through the territtory of Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* There was much scarcity of water in that route and the soldiers of the army had to bring water from a great distance, and they used it with the greatest economy as if it were oil (*roghan*) At several stages the soldiers remained thirsty and had to endure great privation and hardship.

WAQĀ'I' . Jag Rām, the *Diwān* of the supporter of the State, Rājā Jai singh *Sawāi* came to the Court with a force of 5,000 horse, and a larger number of foot, and he brought an *'arzdāsht* from the said Rājā and acquired the felicity of kissing the ground when led into the royal audience. He received favours and bounties and was granted a robe of honour and a necklace of pearls. The contents of the *'arẓdāsht* were as follows:- "Your Majesty's faithful and devoted *khānāzad*, Jai Singh after offering customary respect and

obeisance to those who are admitted to the gracious paradise-like Court begs to submit that the exalted *farmān*, like the decree of fate, which was issued in the name of your Majesty's humblest of slaves, honoured your Majesty's slave by its arrival. This devoted servant welcomed it with due honour and respect, and placed it on the crown of his head, and deemed himself to be honoured and distinguished on getting it. As regards what the pearl-shedding pen of your Majesty has written about Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān having been killed by the miracle-working sword of the Empire, I offered thanks to the Almighty God that the retribution for their deeds and actions manifested itself so soon and so speedily. The prosperity and well-being of the creatures of God lay in what has happened. May God, the most High, show all the misguided ones the place to which their errors lead them in this way. With regard to your Majesty's lofty banner being turned against 'Abdullāh Khān for punishing and chastising him and the direction that your devoted slave should speedly arrive with an army at the enlightened Court, your Majesty's slave is for the time being, despatching Jag Rām, his servant, with a contingent of 5,000 *suwār* and a larger number of foot soldiers to the lofty threshold By the grace and favours of God the aforesiad would be able to perform all the duties that might be required of him Your Majesty's devoted slave has addressed himself to the task of recruiting troops and collecting men. God willing, having finished his work soon, he would be proceeding to the Court and have the felicity of seeking the honour of audience. To write more would be beyond the requirements of etiquette.

WAQĀ'I': The royal command was issued that Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur[144] should be summoned without delay and the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh*, Khān-i-daurān Bahādur, was strictly enjoined upon to write to him a *ḥasbu'l hukm*. The aforesaid sent by post (*dāk*) the *hasbu'l ḥukm* under his own seal. It ran as follows: "Of the status of a Sayyid and a noble, of the status of purity and power; the cream of the illustrious family, the choicest one of the family of of the Sayyids may he be recipient of the bounties and favours of the lord of the world. Let it be disclosed to the mind of

one who is leavened with amity and sincerity, that as Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān have received the requital of their deeds and have been killed, the exalted standard have turned towards the task of punishing and chastising 'Abdullāh Khān His Majesty, whose command all the world obeys, has directed this devoted slave of the threshold to write to you, the support of the State, and summon you to the august presence with whatever army you might be having or might be able to muster. Accordingly, it is being written that you of exalted race and of great bravery should immediately, on receipt of this *hasbu'l hukm*, proceed with whatever force that you may have with you, or you may be able to mobilize to the lofty sky-like threshold, and there should be no delay or in-attention whatsoever in this matter By the will of God most High you would be recipients of many kinds of favours and kindness. Nothing more to wirte"

WAQ'I'I Sābit[145] Khān, a Mughal who was one of the adherents (relative) of *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur and who has engaged in directing and managing the most of the *mahālāt-i-jāgir* of the above-mentioned noble and had a large force at his command, came to Court at the head of 5,000 horse and an equal number of foot, with all speed, and obtained the honour of being introduced to His Majesty by *Samṣāmud-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur Dost 'Alī Khān,[146] the adopted son of *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*, and Ghalib Khān, who was one of the followers of the aforesaid noble and who formerly had held the post of *dāroghi-i-dāgh-o-taṣhiha* of the *Walāshāhī mansabdāi*, also obtained the honour of being presented Dost 'Alī Khān and Ṣābit Khān were distinguished with the grant of the *mansabs* of 5,000 *zat* /5,000 *suwār* and Ghalib Khān received the rank of 4,000 zat /4,000 *suwār* 'Abid Khān who was also one of the followers of *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik* had the honour of an audience of His Majesty and received a *manṣab* of 4,000 zat /4,000 *suwār* Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur arrived in obedience to the royal mandate with a force of 10,000 horse, and an equal number of foot; he kissed the ground in His Majesty's presence, and received a *manṣab* of 7,000 zat /7,000 *suwār*, as well as a dress of honour, a studded

sword and besides that a lakh of ruppees in cash was given to him on account of his troops.

The *'arzdāsht* sent by 'Abdu's-Samad Khān,[147] *Nāzim* of *Sūba*, of Lahore, was placed before the Emperor. It ran as follows :—"This petition of the *Khānazad* of pure disposition, 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Khān, after performing the customary duties of servitude and the requisites of sincerity and devotion is submitted through those who have access to the foot of the throne of the Empire; that the arrival of the felicitious exalted *farmān*, like the decree of fate and the Book of revelation which was issued to your Majesty's slave with the greatest benignity and patronage, conferred all sorts of honour and glory on him. Your Majesty's devoted slave performed the duty of welcoming it and placed it on the crown of his head The royal pen had written that Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Ghairat Khān had been killed. It was a miracle that the afore-mentioned persons got the requital of their own deeds and actions. The work of the wise ones are never vain and free from wisdom. The welfare of the mankind lay in the event which has happened May the most High God ever spread and shed the shadow of the Caliph and the Empire on the heads of all the creatures of God.

Your Majesty's command summoning the devoted slave to the gracious Court had been received. Your devoted slave made preparations for that at that very moment, and wanted to set out for the threshold of Your Majesty's Court. But as during these days Ḥusain Afghan, the leader of the Afghans of the city of Qasūr, being puffed up with pride on account of the large following, had raised the head of disturbances and inflicted injuries of many sorts and kinds, and committed much oppression upon the inhabitants of this region, His Majesty's slave made strenuous efforts, even beyond his power, to assemble an army and embarked on the task of punishing and chastising that man of vicious tendencies. By the grace of God and the good fortune of the King of kings your Majesty's slave made the man suffer the consequences of his evil deeds and relieved the inhabitants of the region from his tyranny and oppression But the soldiers who had been enlisted for the task created a great distubance for their salaries which amounted

to more than four lakhs of rupees, and they did not permit or allow your Majesty's slave to proceed to the celestial Court

Although your devoted slave appealed to the *Dīwān* of the *Sūba* asking for a *qabz* by giving him undertaking under his own seal, yet he refused and did not let him have the money. Had the aforesaid *Dīwān* advanced the required amount to Your Majesty's slave from the imperial treasury it would have enabled him to settle the accounts of the men, who had been enlisted for His Majesty's service, and then would have proceeded to attend the victorious stirrup of His Majesty; but he became helpless, and hence some delay has taken place. If His Majesty by way of cherishing this humble one would be pleased to issue an order to the *Dīwān* of this *Sūba* directing him to disburse the above-mentioned amount out of the royal treasury after the excecution of a bond with the seal of this devoted slave, he being absolved of this affair, and having settled the accounts of pay, would hasten to the Court of Your Majesty Thereafter, Your Majesty's devoted slave would remit to the royal treasury the said amount from the revenues of his own *jāgir* or the *mutasaddis* of your *Sarkār* might recover the amount from the reveune of the *jāgir* of your devoted slave by adjusting the same against the *dāms* May the sun of your Majesty's Empire and authority be ever resplendent! More would be beyond good manners."

The *'arzdāsht* of Gridhar Bahādur[148] "The *khānazād*, Gridhar, after rubbing his forehead of supplication on the ground of servitude and kissing the grounds of devotion with the lips of respect and reverence submits through those who stand near the foot of the throne of the Empire and have acquired felicity of being near the carpet of the ever prosperous State that the *farmān* the book of revelations, and conferring favours, which had the honour of being issued and which conveyed information about the death of Husain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān and directing that (this) *khānazād* should proceed to the Court with a large force, has honoured him by its arrival. He accorded respectful welcome to it and acquired great felicity by performing the duties of salutation and obeisance. It was Divine retribution, that the evil doers suffered punishment as a requital for their deeds by the miracle-working sword of the

Empire May God spread and stretch out the shadow of the Emperor and the shade of the empire on the heads of all the subjects of Your Majesty. The prejudice and hatred of the aforementioned persons against the slave of the threshold, as well as the devotion of Your Majesty's slave, ever ready to sacrifice his life in the service of your gracious Majesty, are quite well known to all the world and also to Your Majesty. The attachment and devotion which Your Majesty's faithful slave has to the Empire is implanted and engraved on the gracious heart of Your Majesty; and by way of showing kindness and cherishing your slave these have been described Your Majesty's devoted slave bowed his head in salutation and obeisance How great is the good fortune of this insignificant person that the devotion and servitude of this well-wisher should have found a corner in Your Majesty's heart from which favours flow like rivers of love. By the will of God the most High, Your Majesty's order would be carried out, and your devoted slave would hasten with all speed to the dignified Court to have the felicity of paying respects to, and drawing blessings from the audience which is of the nature of an alchemist (turning everything into gold)

The *'arẓdāsht* of the humblest of the devoted one, Niẓāmu'l-mulk Having performed the duty of salutations and obeisance, he offers to the view of those who are nearest to the grand and lofty Court, and who gain felicities from their contact with sky-like threshold that the exalted *famārn*, bestowing favours like the decree of fate, which had been issued in the name of this humblest of slaves honoured him by its arrival and gave the occasion for pride and exaltation of one who is ever ready to sacrifice his life for the royal cause Your devoted slave performed the ceremony of salutation and obeisance. It was recorded that Husain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān were killed in the plains of Toda Bhim in retaliation for, and on the complaints of oppression from the large mass of mankind, and directed that this devoted slave should proceed to the Court with adequate troops Thank God this flame of the fire of tyranny has been extinguished by the water of the justice of your gracious Majesty and the management of the affairs of the Empire have been set a fresh by the attention paid to them by

Your Majesty. May God the most High ever extend the protective shadow of the Empire on the heads of all the subjects of Your Mejesty Immediately on receipt of the exalted *farmān* this devoted and faithful slave has set out towards the Court, lofty as the sky, and God willing he would speedily arrive at the threshold of heavenly splendour, and enjoy the felicity of being admitted to the gracious audience of Your benevolent Majesty What else is there to write ?

WAQĀ'I' . When the news of the killing of *Amīru'l-umarā* Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān and of the imprisonment of Rājā Ratan Chand reached[149] Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, who was (then) encamping at the village of Nandgaon Barsana near *Sarāi* Chātha, he placed the finger of wonderment on the lip of astonishment and consternation and beat his knees of perplexity with the hand of anxiety. After spending a considerable time in resolving the matter in his mind he drew the breath of confidence, and with great effect and preparation he proceeded at once to the seat of the Imperial Government He sent in advance Sita Rām,[150] one of his confidential attendants, with a number of men to the imperial metropolis of Shāhjahānābād so that before his arrival he might take possession of the royal treasury and other articles and properties of the Emperor, and keep ready materials, implements and arsenals of war After sending off the aforesaid Sita Rām, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān himself set out with all his army towards the seat of the Empire and sent an *'arzdāsht* to His Majesty.--

The petition of the humble and devoted slave 'Abdullāh Khān performing the duties of servitude and submission and fulfilling the requisites of compliment and devotion, he begs to submit to the view of those who are nearest to the magnificent Court and are admitted at the dignified and exalted threshold that when the disturbances occurred in the *sūbas* of the Deccan and Lahore, the seat of government, and when the matter was reported to Your Sacred Majesty, this humble servant of the dignified Court assigned the duty of preserving and protecting the fort of the metropolis and administering that *Sūba*; and the *Amīru'l-umarā* Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, the younger brother of the devoted slave, was sent to the Deccan to attend upon the felicitious stirrup of (in company with) Your Sacred

Majesty. Although the separation of your devoted slave from his younger brother was exceedingly distasteful and painful and caused great heaviness of heart even to the *Amiru'l-umarā*, yet they did not turn aside from the path of obedience and raised no objection, and both the brothers set out, one towards the metropolis, and the other towards the Deccan in attendance upon the victorious imperial stirrup, his heart and soul in royal service. This devoted slave of the threshold was still on the way and had not yet arrived at the metropolis, persons taking the opportunity, and finding the brother of this slave alone, unjustly and without any legal justification slew him along with Ghairat Khān and the son of Mir Auliyā in the presence of Your Majesty, and plundered the whole of their property.

May the *Qibla* (Lord) of the world and of the people be safe and prosperous! If all this has happened on Your Majesty's orders, and if these men, acting according to Your Majesty's direction, committed this repression and bloodshed, there is nothing to be said His Majesty is the lord of the life and the property of both of us But if these acts were not done under Your Majesty's orders, and if these men committed such vile and shocking deeds of their own accord (of themselves or at their own responsibility), your devoted servant, trusts that Your Majesty, in justice, fairness and equity, would order the imprisonment of the murderers of these noblemen, and that they would not be allowed to escape. Your devoted slave would be shortly arriving at Your Majesty's Court and the heirs of the murdered would also come. It is believed that this matter would be settled in accordance with the precepts of the Holy Law before the threshold of Your Majesty. It is the humble prayer of this devotee of Your Majesty's cause, that the murderers shall not be released from confinement till the arrival of this devoted slave and the other heirs of the murdered ones, and if any person should petition Your Majesty to release them, his request should not be accepted.

(Reply to the above)- The protector of the dignity of premiership, support of valour and intrepedity; skilled in the knowledge of the enigmas of the special assembly, sagacious purveyor of special documents and records, the most excellent of the exalted ministres; the cream of the nobles of exalted

station may be the recipient of boundless favours. The petition forwarded by that pillar of State, has been duly received and perused. Whatever you have represented with regard to the measure of your service, spirit of self sacrifice, constancy in devotion and service, and about the disagreeable incident which befell the *Amirul-umarā*, Sayyid Ghairat Khān, and Auliyā as well as your request for the imprisonment of the murderers, of above—mentioned ones has become manifest in details and in summary. Really and truly great grief and heaviness has found way to our sacred heart because of the occurence of this calamity. God alone is a witness of this condition of ours Mir Haidar Beg Khān who committed this heinous crime was killed at that very time by the grace of God God knows that I was totally and entirely ignorant of what was going on When suddenly the aforesaid affair occurred peremptory orders were issued as they should have been But as that wretched man had already done his work, it was no use As regards what has been written about the seizure and imprisoment of the murderers, Mīr Haidar Beg Khān, the well-known murderer, was killed by the grace of God in retribution for his evil deed, and the names of others are not known, nor have you written who they were Had you given clear and specific information, relevant action would have been taken The constancy of devotion and the purity of thoughts of that pillar of the State are brighter than the sun, and implanted in our gracious heart If it pleases God we are ourselves proceeding to that place, and you, the sincere one, also intend to come to the imperial presence, God Willing, this matter shall be settled in a suitable manner, in accordance with the principles of Holy Law and Justice which adorn the Court of the world

WAQ 11 After the submission of the above petition and receipt of the reply, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān set out with all possible speed for the metropolis, and after arrival there he released Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm,[151] son of prince Rafī'u'sh-Shān, who had been confined in the fort for a long time; installed him on the throne, spread over his head the parasol, performed the rites of salutation and obeisance; and had the coins struck and *khutba* recited in the imperial metropolis in

his name. Having taken possession of the royal treasury and the properties[152] of Rājā Ratan Chand, he feverishly began to enlist troops. He fixed the pay of a *yak aspa* (with one horse) trooper at 80 rupees and of a *do aspa* (two horse) trooper at 150 rupees, and 10 rupees as the pay (*'ulūfa*) for a foot soldier. One month's pay was given in advance to every one. He also wrote letters to the chiefs of the Bārha (clan) and summoned them. He made a public proclamation in the city and written notices and many were sent to the provinces announcing that any one who wanted service might come and get himself enrolled. The conditions and stipualtions about the size[153] of big and small horses were waived, and permission was given to brand them (indiscriminately).

Men flocked from all sides, and crowded together so that within a few days 50,000 horse and as many foot were enlisted A force larger than this consisting of both cavalry and infantry was provided by the chiefs and nobles of the Bārha They were resolved and ready to sacrifice their lives, which is in the hand of the Creator of Life. Many of them came riding on Chariots (rath) and on small carts (*Bahal*) or bullock carts (*gadhi*) The total number rallied behind the above mentioned Khān swelled to 1,35,000 (*suwār*) and as many foot. They all girded up their loins to play the desperate game with their lives.

Ghāzīu'd-din Khān[154] *Wālāshāhi* who had been in the service of the martyred Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, and had resigned his *manṣab* after the latter's death, and was living in retirement in a corner of the metropolis, yielded to the supplication and entreaty of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, and offered his services to Sultān Ibrāhīm. He was distinguished with a *manṣab* of 7000 *zāt*/7000 *suwār*, *do aspa*, *sih aspa*, the title of *Amīru'l-umarā Bahādur* and with the office of the first *Bakhshī* (*Bakhshigarī-i-awwal*). Similarly Sayyid Najmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān rubbed his forehead of supplication on the ground of devotion and was granted the rank of 7000 *zat*/7000 *suwār*. Sayyid Shajā'at Khān had also the honour of kissing the ground and was granted a *manṣab* of 5000 *zat*/5000 *suwār*. Sayyid Saifu'd-din 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Shahāmat Khān were also received in audience and each of them was granted the rank of 5000 *zat*/

5000 *suwār*. Sayyid Rif'at Khān, offered his service and he was given the rank of 7000 *zat*/7000 *suwār*. I'tibār Khān, Daryā Khān Shaikh Sibghatullāh Khān of Lucknow, Sayyid Ṣalābat Khān, Sayyid Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Akbar 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Muhammad Khān, Ma'sūm 'Alī Khān, Rustam 'Alī Khān and Sa'ādat Khān, each and all of them had the honour of kissing the ground, and all, except Shaikh Sibghatullāh Khān of Lucknow who declined the *manṣab*, and refused to accept the dress of honour, standard, drum and other royal favours, each one was promoted according to his position, and was granted a suitable rank [155]

WAQĀ'I', When Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān had collected a large army and given due publicity to it, a royal *farmān* was addressed to him, and it ran thus—"Deserving of favour and benevolence, recipient of boundless gifts; sincere and faithfull friend gifted with fortitude and purity of faith may he be the object of numberless favours and kindnesses at the hand of the King of kings. According to the letter written by that excellent one of the kingdom, we waited impatiently for his arrival, and kept the eye of expectation on the high road of watchfulness, and hoped that today or tomorrow the cream of the sincere ones, and the pillar of the State, would come to the Court and would enable us to enjoy the happiness of talking with him. Suddenly the intelligence came, and it was fully disclosed, that the far-seeing one left Nandagaon Barsana, near *Sarāi* Chātha (Sarhi Jhawa ?) immediately on hearing the news of the remedyless calamity concerning the *Amiru'l-umarā* and Sayyid Ghairat Khān, and marched to the imperial metropolis and having arrived there brought out Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm, son of Rafi'u'sh-Shān, from the prison of the blessed fort, seated him on the royal throne, and has created confusion and disorders by enlisting troops and raising a great army. On the receipt of a report of this nature we felt much surprise as to what could have passed in your mind. If it concerns the aforesaid persons, you should know that in matters that depend on the will of God there is no help Notwithstanding all this, in all matters and affairs of the kind, the officers of canon law have laid down the principles of the law of retaliation and

retribution (*qiṣāṣ*). By the grace of God the person who had been guilty of the crime has met with his punishment. If being impelled by human weakness something else has entered your mind, settlement of questions rests upon the Grace of the Sacred Lord and does not depend on the strength of large armies and abundant artillery. The caliphate (empire) is the vicegerency of the prophetic office, it is not based on bravery or fortitude. Had you, excellent of the kingdom, presented yourself at our Court, whatever request you might have made could have been grated. Even now it is not too late; you must come with all speed to the Court and make your submissions in whatever way you like or deem to be necessary As all our keen desire and ardent aspiration is wholly concentrated on the repose and affluence of the creatures of God, it is not the desire of our heart that the name of that choice of the sincere ones should come on the tongue of the people in terms of vileness, nor do we wish that you should draw adversity from the side of God upon yourself It behoves you to give careful and attentive ears to these matters; give due consideration and weight in your mind as to what would be good for you, and act accordingly.

'*Arzdāsht* of the humblest, the most devoted of the slaves, 'Abdullāh Khān, after fulfilling the conditions of salutation and obeisance and professing the necessary grades of supplication, submission and prostrations, begs to convey through those who are admitted at the Court, lofty as the sky, that your devoted slave felt honoured and was full of pride on receiving the exalted *farmān*, which had been issued in the name of this slave, (who is) even-ready to sacrifice his life for Your Majesty. Your Majesty's kindness shedding pen had written that had your devoted slave acquired felicity and happiness by presenting himself before the miracle-working Court, then every request that he might have made would have found acceptance, and every suggestion that he might have made would have been acted upon; and that, monarchy and vicegerency represented the deputyship of prophet and did not depend on mere human bravery and fortitude, and that this devoted slave of the royal threshold should proceed to the gracious Court, and acquire felicity for having audience

Long live Your Majesty, the lord of the world and of the people In reality the arrival of this devoted slave at the gracious Court of Your Majesty would have been the occasion of greatest happiness and felicity, and indeed it would have given him joy equal to that of an act of devotion to God. But Your Majesty is well aware of the fate that befell the *Amīru'l-umarā*, the brother of this petty slave If he. who is ever-ready to sacrifice his life for Your Majesty, had been in attendance upon the Emperor he would have had to face the same fate. Indeed, God alone knows what more might have happened. For this very reason your devoted slave did not see any other course of safety for himself except turning his face away (defection) from Your Majesty Although the sovereignty is the deputyship of the Prophet, yet the vicegerency of prophet exists for public welfare and protection of the created beings. Had he been assured of safety in the Court, how could a mere insignificant and lowly creature been guilty of disobeying the exalted command ?

Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhim, the Caliph of the Empire, belongs to the same royal family and is one of the brethrens of Your Majesty, the Lord of the world. Pressed by necessity, making him the instrument of safety, God Willing, I shall soon enjoy the felicity of meeting Your Majesty while attending on his stirrups, and then submit the true state of affairs. justice and redress of grievances are bound with, and depend upon, the attention of your gracious Majesty To write more would be to trangress the rules of etiquette

WAQ'I' Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sultān Muhammed Ibrāhim, accompanied by a large army and a number of nobles and *mansabdārs* named above,[156] marched out of Shāh-jahānābād and set up their camp outside the city. When the intelligence of their reached the *Khāqān* of the age, the vicegerent of God, the Merciful, God-knowing Muhammed Shāh, (may his kingdom and empire be perpetuated) he set out and marched with the utmost speed, stage after stage, and set up the elevated camp at Kaman [157] Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān marched from there and arrived at Farīdābād. It was reported to His Sacred Majesty that Muhammad[158] Khān Bangash and 'Azīz Khān Bahādur Chaghtā had arrived from Akbarābād and were

encamped with a large force in the neighbour-hood of *Sarāi* Chāta. As these noblemen had a powerful army under them, fear entered the blessed heart of the Emperor that they might join the other party. The royal command was issued that Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān should go, conciliate and persuade them, and bring them to the Court. The two noblemen carried out the imperial orders, they went to Muhammad Khān Bangash and 'Azīz Khān Bahādur and brought them before the royal presence The aforesiad noblemen came with their contingents and acquired the felicity of kissing the ground; each of them received the rank of 7000z/7000s and was favoured with special robes of honour and turbans set with gold.

His Majesty, who rivalled Solomon in dignity, assigned to Muhammad Khān Bangash twenty four crore *dāms* from the *ṣūbas* of Allāhabād and Akbarābād and appointed the aforesaid Khān as the Governor of Allahābād. And the *parganas* of Bali[159] and Sardhon in *Sarkār* Khairābād and the *parganas* of Budhi and Sandila etc dependencies of Lakhnow, *Sūba* of Awadh, were placed in charge of Azīz Khān Bahādur Chaghtạ. And thus they were encouraged and consoled and they rose in the Court of His Majesty the lord of the world. Bāyazīd Khān Mewātī who enjoyed much respect and esteem in the region of Mewat, and had firm control over that area and was one of the braves of that country gathered the felicity of submission to His Majesty and was distinguished with the grant of a special robe of honour Khema[160] Jāt, who was one of the associates of Chūrā Jāt, a leader of 10,000 (*ahl-i-tūmān*) and a chief (*Ra'i*) of the same tribe, and who was possessed of power and authority in that land, had also the honour of being presented and was favoured by His Majesty. He was directed to take his position in the rear of the victorious army, and afford protection to those of the royal camp who lagged behind, due to fatigue.

WAQĀ'I' : As soon as His Majesty received the intelligence of the arrival of 'Abdullāh Khān in the vicinity of Palwal he moved from Nandgaon Barsana and arrived near Shergarh within the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned *Pargana* of

Palwal near the river Jamuna and then drew up the troops in battle order and fixed it at the place for engagement. Many poor and weak persons and people of *bāzaar* left the camp and fled to the village of Shergarh and other neighbouring villages and settled there, while most wealthy persons, nobles, and *mansabdārs* who had their families and properties with them sent them to the city of Mathura and other villages and towns in the neighbourhood, and were released from their anxiety on their account The villages and towns around were filled with the crowd of the men of the camp and their properties

WAQ.I'I' Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān marched from Palwal and reached the village of Balochpur belonging to the *Pargana* of Palwal and fixed the inhabitated part of the village as his battle-ground The residents (*ra'yā*) abandoned their houses and went elsewhere Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān fortified the said village In the meanwhile, Sayyid Kāmil Khān and Sayyid Mukammal Khān, who were the Sayyids of Bārha and who were relations of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and who were in the royal camp and had received many favours from the King of kings, came out from the royal camp at midnight and joined the camp of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān along with their contingents. Similarly, Rājā Muhkam[161] Singh Khatrī, who held the rank of 5,000 *zāt*, 5,000 *suwār* and had been a protege of the *Amiru'l-umarā*, Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān and after the assassination of the aforesaid noble had come to attend upon the victorious standard of the Empire, and was honoured with an interview and received a special robe and one lakh of rupees in cash to assist him in enlisting troops, left the royal camp in the middle of night, and joined Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān When Rājā Muhkam Singh left the royal camp to join the army of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, he left behind his tent and equippage. Upon this the Emperor ordered that his tent and the belongings be plundered The vagabonds rushed, set fire to and plundered the tents and baggage. On arriving at the camp of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, Rājā Muhkam Singh led him to believe that other nobles would also act in the same manner as he had done and would join him. As the abovemetioned Rājā came and Sayyid Kāmil Khān and Sayyid Mukammal Khān too had arrived Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān became convinced of what

had been said, and (therefore) he postponed the engagement that day and committed an error of judgment.

WAQĀ'I' : His Majesty in the night of the 12fth *Muharram* of the aforesaid year arranged his forces for action. He left a detachement to protect the camp and the rest of the army remained in attendance upon him. The details are as under :—*I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, his son, with 10,000 horse, and an equal number of foot; Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, the commandant of the royal artillery, with 7000 horse and a larger number of foot, which belonged to his retinue, as well as, with the men of royal artillery; *Samṣāmu'd-daulah* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur *Mansūr Jang*, with 10,000 horse and a larger number of foot, in addition to his own contingent; Sher Afgan Khān, Hizabr Khān, Ṣābit-Khān and Amīnu'd-din Khān were ordered to gain felicity by remaining in attendance at the imperial stirrup Rājā Gopāl Singh, the *Zamindār* of Bhadawar, with 5,000 horse, Rājā Bahādur with 4,000 horse, Jag Rām, the *Diwan* of Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi*, with 5,000 horse and a larger number of foot, Zafar Khān Bahādur, with 6,000 horse, Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur with 10,000 horse, Muhammad Khān Bangash with 3,000 horse, 'Azīz Khān Bahādur Chaghta, with 2,000 horse and, Mīr Musharraf, with 5,000 horse were deputed to protect the camp. Each one was assigned his positions.

WAQĀ'I' · The same night Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān also arranged his forces in the following order · Ghāzīu'd-dīn Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*, with 20,000 horse and an equal number of foot; Sayyid Shaja 'at 'Alī Khān, with 4,000 horse and a larger number of foot, Sayyid Najmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān, with 10,000 horse; Sayyid Saifu'd-dīn Khān, with 10,000 horse and foot; Sayyid Shahāmat Khān, with 7,000 horse, Shaikh Sibghatullah Khān *alias shaikh* Lakhnawi 1,000 horse, and Rājā Muḥkam Singh with 4,000 horse were deputed to remain with him, and the rest were ordered to protect the camp and each was posted in a different direction.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 13th of *Muharram*, 1132 A.H. very early in the morning of Wednesday, before sun rise, His Majesty mounted his elephant; and accompanied by *Ṣamṣāmu'd-daulah*,

Khān-i-daurān Bahādur, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Bahādur, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, Ṣābit Khān, Sa'ādat Khān, Diler Dil Khān, Sher Afgan Khān, Hizabr Afgan Khān, he took up position in the field of courage and valour. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, commandant of the royal artillery, advanced his guns to a distance of two *jaribs* (*i e.* 288 yards) ahead of the Emperor, and posting his artillery in the direction of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān prepared himself for war

The Royal command was issued that the prisoner, Ratanchand, be put to death, and this was done. The aforesaid prisoner was brought out and mounted on an elephant, and after the order for his execution had been given repeatedly they brought him down from the back of the elephant, and then put him to death Zafar Khān Bahādur, Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur, Rājā Bahādur, Gopāl Singh, the Rājā of Bhādawar, Jag Rām the *Dīwān* of Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāī*, Muhammad Khān Bangash, 'Azīz Khān Bahādur, and Mīr Musharraf with their troops spread themselves on all sides of the camp and took measure for protection and defence.

Haidar Qulī Bahādur had *ashrafīs* (gold coins) and rupees, incalculable in number, a large quantity of wealth and countless gold bracelets He gave gifts to gunners, matchlockmen and musketeers, and rewarded them for each volley they fired [162] As the artillery advanced immediately the troops occupied the ground in its rear The artillery men, being encounraged by the gifts and presents and the generosity of Haidar Qulī Khān, fired one of the guns at the time and (simultaneously) loaded the other *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur *Manṣūr Jang*, was on the left of the Emperor, exerting himself to his utmost, his heart and soul was in fighting and he was keen in prosecuting the battle Dost 'Alī Khān, his adopted son with his 5,000 horse was in front of him (*Samṣāmu'd-daulāh*), and mounted on an elephant he maintained his stand gallantly. Though he received wound from a musket ball in his leg, yet in spite of the wound he did not desist from fighting and continued in his post, and kept up the fire of musket balls and arrows Ghalib Khān, one of the companions of the *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh*, was also stood on the right (of the above-mentioned nobleman) and exhibited great

zeal and exertion, and suffered wounds from arrows and musket balls. *I'timadud-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur and his son Qamaru'd-dīn Khān exhibited bravery on the right side of the Emperor, tendered useful service and displayed intense and great exertions Sa'ādat and Sābit Khān also, having girded up their loins in royal service were ready to sacrifice their lives and put in great toil and exertion.

Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, standing with all his followers, and his artillery arranged in front, exhibited much exertion. Chūrā Jāt who was an accomplice of the aforesaid Sayyid detached his contingent towards the west to attack the royal camp in the rear. Those wretched villians raising their swords came to the royal camp and attacked it. Rājā Bahādur and Rājā Gopal Singh Bhadāwar who were guarding that place advanced to oppose them and beating them back, gradually drove them out of the army, and thus preserved and protected the emcampment. The Jats, again fell on the tents and baggages of the royal camp in the southern sector, and laid their hands upon some of the articles belonging to the Emperor, and the people of the camp Ẓafar Khān Bahādur and Muhammad Kh ān Bangash who were in charge of that sector of the camp exerted themselves in repelling the miscreants, and succeeded in driving them. After this those mischievious and vile people raised commotions and violence in the eastern sector and inflicted much injury and damage upon the men belonging to the *bāzaars* of the royal army. Mīr Musharraf and Ghlu Khān Tarīn Lakhnawī punished those vile plunderers and sent them to the hell, and by exerting themselves in protecting the camp they displayed the necessary measures of of their zeal. On the last occasion when the riot and tumult raised by the vicious Chūra Jāt of bad-breed had reached its climax, many of the camp followers and the men of bazaar numbering nearly ten to twelve thousand, male and famale, who were not accustomed to fighting, became terror-stricken, and not being aware of the depth of the river Jamuna, they rushed towards the , river in their state of anxiety; many of them were drowned, and some of them escaped with their lives and got over to the other side.

After three *pahi* and four *gharis* of the day had passed the tents and baggage were packed and loaded and (three carts) were sent in motion In whichever sector the Jāts raised tumults and commotions the camp moved away from that side to another If there was tumult and outcry in that quarter too, they moved away to another Even after the nightfall similar commotion and disturbances continued. In whatever place there was hubbub and commotion, the veterans of the army rushed to that spot for protection and exerted themselves to their utmost By chance a rocket (*bān*) from His Majesty's victorious army fell upon the powder magazine of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān It caught fire and nealy 3,000 persons, both men and women, who were near the place where the magazine was, were burnt The bodies of those who had relatives and heirs were taken, half dead, to their houses on litters (*chārpā'ī*), but the bodies of those who had no one to claim them became food for wild beasts during the night

W'AQ'A'I' As the river Jamuna was a long way off from the army of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, so there was scarcity of water in his camp, the balls and rockets from his Majesty's army continued to pour upon the troops of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, and many of them were killed or wounded Many of his soldiers, on the pretext of going to get water to quench their thirst, ran away and took the road towards Shāhjahānābād He himself continued fighting vigorously till the midnight attended to by a few nobles chiefs and about five to six thousand horse As the conflict lasted for eight *pahrs* (watches), many men on both sides were killed or wounded When the night was almost over, the number of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān's followers had so much diminished that he had no more than 10 000 horsemen left with him

On the 14th of holy month of *Muharram* in 1132 of the sacred *Hijra* era, early in the morning before sunrise, the flame of war and slaughter got heated and the battle with arrows and musket balls raged furiously Sanjar Khān *Wālāshāhi*, an associate of *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur *Mansur Jang* dismounted with his men on the left side of the above-mentioned and began to fight confidently by firing muskets Shaikh Sibghatullāh Lakhnwī, who was with Sayyid

'Abdullāh Khān and was fighting with great vigour in front of the elephant of the aforesaid Khān fell dead, with 70 active warriors as a result of musket fire of the above-mentioned Khān and thus spent his life discharging his duties for his master. Of the other companions of the said Khān, most of them tasted the cup of martyrdom and were finished, and those who remained drew the veil on their faces, and fled to their homes. When Ḥaidar Qulī Khān became aware that Sayyid[164] 'Abdullāh Khān had very few men left with him, he scrambled upto the elephant on which the latter was riding, and caused the elephant to sit down on the ground. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān having received two sword cuts upon his head and in right hand, became a captive of the claws of fate.

WAQĀ'I' : After the victory, the Emperor directed the kettle-drums to beaten and this was done. When the sound of kettle-drum reached the ears of the people, they with feelings of unbounded joy and unlimited happiness raised their hands towards Heaven and prayed for the safety and welfare of His Sacred Majesty Chūrā Jāt who had deserted the imperial army and joined that of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān plundered everything belonging to Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān's camp after the latter had been taken captive, and then went away to his own home, on the way, he robbed everyone he met

Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm who had been raised to the throne by Sayyid 'Abullāh Khān left the camp with a few noble and took the road to the west When he arrived at a village[165] called Nekpur belonging to the *Pargana* of palwal which was inhabited by a family of the Sayyids who held high *manṣabs* and were amongst the men of *tūmān* (leaders of 1000), and the aforenamed Sayyids finding themselves unable to afford protection to him the Sultān along with his companions entered a garden near the suburb of the village and took his seat there The companion of the Sultān said that if it was his desire to move to another place they would conduct him to whatever place he would like to go. The Sultān wisely said in reply that this battle was a trial of his fortune, and had the fate favoured him with a kingdom he would have had that, and that he did not feel disposed to go anywhere else In the meanwhile, when search was made for the aforesaid Sultān

and the informants gave the report about him, His Majesty issued orders that Haidar Qulī Khān, Ẓafar Khān Bahādur Qamaru'd-dīn Khān should go and fetch him to the presence. This was done. The aforesaid nobles went to the said Sultān and they offered obeisance and salutations. The Sultān rose up and proceeded with them When he arrived in the presence of His Majesty, the latter embraced him and showed him great courtesy and civility His Majesty seated him near himself and asked him "How do you come here ?" The Sultān replied "In the same manner as you came" His Majesty asked him further, "who brought you here"? He replied "the same person who brought you."

W'AQĀ'I' Because of the occurrence of such a magnificent victory His Majesty himself indulged in happiness and delight. When he was at ease he entrusted the charge of the prisoners, Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān to Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and to keep the two prisoners separately and guard them with care and circumspection. *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khān and his son, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, each presented 100 *ashrafis* to His Majesty and each of them received robes of honour, swords with golden handles and one elephant and one crore *dam* as *in'ām* (reward) *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Mahammad Amīn Khān Bahādur received the title of *Wazīru'l-mulk I'timādu'd-daulāh.* Haidar Qulī Khān presented 150 *ashrafis* He was granted a special *khil'at*, a decorated *sarpech*, a sword, an elephant and an 'Irāqī horse with golden trappings The aforesaid Khān (Haidar Qulī Khān) was honoured with the title of *Mu'izzu'd-daulāh Samsāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur *Mansūr Jang* offered 100 *ashrafis* and was favoured with a special robe and turban set with jewels, one horse of Arabian breed and one elephant In addition he received the title of *Amiru'l-umarā*, and was given one crore *dāms* as *in'ām* Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān and Akbar 'Alī Khān, the companions of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, also had the honour of kissing the ground and they became receipients of favours and bounties of His Majesty In the same manner the rest of His Majesty's servants presented their offering and received his favours.

WAQĀ'I' : His Majesty, the shadow of God, stayed on the field of victory for two days and remained busy in offering solaces, comfort and encouragement to all his servants. On the third day he set out for Shāhjahānābād. On the way the sun was very hot, and as the crowd of the marching army was very great it became very dusty, Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān and Akbar 'Alī Khān who, after the victory had gathered felicity by enrolling themselves in His Majesty employ, moved out of the main army along with their contingents and then came to the right side with a view to taking rest under the shade of a tree. In the meantime, the informers submitted a report to His Majesty in a different light. They represented that a group of the opposite party had gone out of the imperial camp and were roaming about as vagrants On hearing this His Majesty directed *Mu'izzu'd-daulāh* Haidar Qulī Khān and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān to go out and chastise them The aforesaid (noblemen) mounted their horses and marching with full speed arrived at the spot and surrounded Sayyid Muẓaffar[166] 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Akbar 'Alī Khān Both parties were about to draw their swords and come to blows but when Sayyid Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān and Akbar 'Alī Khān submitted to the royal officers the true state of affairs, *Mu'izzu'd-daulāh* Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān asked their men to desist. They brought the two Khāns to His Sacred Majesty, who after investigating the matter allowed them to leave.

WAQĀ'I' · Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāi* came to the sky-high threshold and offered his congratulations on the victory. He was granted audience and he made an offering of 1000 *ashrafīs*, and 5 horse. He was favoured with a robe of honour, a turban set with pearls, and a necklace of pearls, and received the title of Rājā *Indar Dhirāj* Jai Singh *Sawāi*. Abdu's-Samad Khān, the *Nāẓim* of Lahore, came with his son, Zikriyā Khān, and obtained the felicity of kissing the ground. He offered 1,000 *ashrafīs* and 21 horse of Arabi and 'Irāqī breed and was granted one elephant, a special robe, and a turban set with pearls.

WAQĀ'I' The *Wazīrū'l-mulk*, *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur, having been installed on the cushion of *wizārat* began to transact business pertaining to his

office, and appointed officers and other staff for the collection of *jizya*. Royal *farmāns* were written by order of His Majesty and sent to the governors of the provinces of the empire conveying the intelligence of the victory and imprisonment of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm.

The first of them was addressed to Murshid[167] Qulī Khan, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Bengal, and it ran, thus "May, the protector of State and administration; the support of courage and bravery, rider in the field of valour, the horseman of the field of intrepidity and dauntlessness, the symbol of strength, be the object of the grace and favour of God the Almighty During this time of luck and fortune when our exalted standards were on the move towards the imperial metropolis, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, having collected a body of vagabonds and riff-raffs of that region arrived in the territory of *Pargana* Palwal with Sultān Ibrāhīm of high decent, created disturbances. and behaved insolently Although some communications containing admonition and advice were conveyed to him from the royal Court of *khilafat* and world conquest, yet on account of his bad luck and evil destiny, he paid no attention (to him) and embarked on war As all our thoughts and intentions are aimed at promoting the welfare and comfort of our subjects, by the grace of God and the aid of the Eternal one, our well-tried warriors, in the action that was fought on the 14th day of the sacred month of *Muharram*, 1132 *A H.* on Wednesday four *gharis* after sunrise captured him alive with Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm and of his followers several were cut down by the unsparing swords, and the rest were scattered in the deserts of adversity. Praise be to God the most High that such a great victory fell to the lot of the imperial standards. You should offer praises and thanks to the throne of the Almighty God and proclaim the intelligence by the loud sounds of the kettle drum

The second *farmān* was addressed to Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Awadh May the most excellent of the Rājās of dignified position, the cream of the chosen loyal dignitories of elevated status, a pure and sincere friend, be always covered with the grace of the Almighty God, and be the object of the favours and kindness of the All-Merciful.

'Abdullāh Khān who, on account of the unfortunate inauspiciousness of the times, and becoming a captive of evil destiny, failing to appreciate the value of the royal bounties and ignoring the pleasure of his sovereign's favours and puffed up with haughtiness growing out of the abundance of troops, and taking Sultān Ibrāhim with him, came to the neighbourhood of Palwal and became a source of insolent and audacious behaviour. By the grace and mercy of the Almighty God and the efforts and exertions of the brave veterans and gallant and faithfull warriors he was put to disgrace, and on 14th of *Muharram*. 1132, A.H he was taken prisoner alive along with Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm. His followers suffering varieties of ignominy and discredit became wanderers in the desert of distress and contempt and were hunted down by our gallant warriors It behoves that pillar of the State, to offer praise and gratitude to God for all these favours and gifts, and be himself happy and pleased and cause others to feel joyous and delighted. Let the drums be loudly sounded to proclaim the occasion of unbounded joys and happiness

The third *farmān* was address to Nizāmu'l-mulk, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūbas* of the Deccan, and it ran as follows :—"Of the status of nobility and purity, of the position of strength and chastity, the pillar of State, the support of *Khilāfat*, high-ranking in the family of Crown, the quintessence of the race of the pure, the most excellent of the exalted Khāns, the cream of the loyal ones of high position, may he be hopeful of our favours and bounties. Let it be known to him that by the kindness of God, the most High, and the graciousness of the Almighty, during these auspicious days every time the world-adorning standards raised their heads for any purpose, whatsoever, he has been granted victory by the invisible hands of heaven, and to whichever side has our exalted banners turned, the desirable success has been achieved Thank God the Almighty, that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Ghairat Khān had to reap the consequences of their own misdeeds and received punishment for their action 'Abdullāh Khān who had raised the standards of revolt and insurgency at Shāhjahānābād was taken prisoner alive along with Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm, in the neighbourhood of Palwal, on the 14th of *Muharram* A.H. 1132. Of

his followers, most of them were trampled to death by the dreadful mountain like elephants, and those who took to fight were scattered in the desert of disgrace and were drawn into the misfortune of isolation and became targets of our brave warriors Let this remarkable victory and occasion of unbounded rejoicings be a matter of blessings and congratulations to that cream of the faithful friends You are directed to cause all the inhabitants of lands within your jurisdiction to express their joy and happiness and proclaim the intelligence everywhere by the loud beat of kettle-drum.

The following royal *farmān* was addressed to Sarbaland Khān the *Nazim* of the *Suba* of Kabul · "May the support of government and dominion, of high position in bravery and valour, faithful friend, unequalled in sincerity and loyalty, the most excellent of the Khān of lofty station; the cream of the sincere ones of elevated rank; be always the embracer of the peace of mind, joy and happiness By the assistance of the Almighty and the grace and favours of God the most High, a fresh victory and unbounded joy have become conjoined with the circumstances of this well-wisher of mankind, that is, on the 14th of the blessd month of *Muharram*, A.H, 1132 'Abdullāh Khān, with Sultān Muhammad Ibrāhīm, was taken captive along with a large number of followers In all probability you will have heared of it from other quarters. Thank God that Husain 'Ali Khān and Ghairat Khān received deserving punishment, and 'Abdullāh Khān has been captured and confined in prison There can be no reckoning of thanks It behoves you to offer thanks on this occasion to the sublime Court of the Almighty God, and let your people express their joy and make your country filled up with rejoicings. Let the drum be beaten with a loud sound to celebrate the event. What else to write ?"

WAQĀI As on account of chaos and on account of famine in that year, the creatures of God were suffering from distress, and the prices of grain had not fallen, at the initiation of the measures taken for realizing *jizya*[168] the bankers and the merchants (*mahājanān wa beopārīān*) and the other tradesmen and businessmen? (*muhtarif*) belonging to the Hindu community assembled together of their own accord, and with full agree-

ment of all lodged a complaint and closed their shops in the metropolis. They thus revealed the injustic and oppression on the part of the grand Wazir, *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur. Rājā *Indar Dhirāj* Jai Singh *Sawāī* interceded on behalf of these men and opened the hands of supplication for them before His Majesty. He represented that "In this land of Hindustan there are two communities (*tā'ifa*), Hindūs and Muslmāns Hindustan had been formerly inhabited by the Hindus, but afterwards through the extertions (*jihād*) of the doctors of law (*mujtahidīn*), the religion of Islam got currency. Your Majesty is the Sovereign of Hind (India) and the people of both the communities (*firqa*) equally offer prayers for Your Majesty's welfare, nay Hindus do it more, for the Musalmāns are of the same religion and of the some faith as Your Majesty, whereas Hindus enjoy repose and tranquillity under the shadow of the protection of their lord, and offer their prayers before the threshold of him who listens to them and grants the petition of his supplicants, for the stability of the Empire and health and safety of the Sacred Majesty. After the assassination of Husain 'Alī Khān and Ghariat Khān, and before the conflict with Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān I, the devoted slave of the threshold, had issued a proclamation throughout the territory of my *zamīndāri* and had summoned all the God-fearing Hindus from villages, towns and *parganas*, and made them each and all to offer prayers individually for the victory of Your Majesty and for the stability of the Empire. I, then gave them solemn assurances that when Your Majesty should obtain the victory by the grace of God, I would, in the first place, make my supplication and take Your Majesty's order for the exemption and remission of the *jizya* and then secure daily allowance (*Yaumia*) and revenue free-grants (*madad-i-ma'āsh*) for these men. Accordingly, a very large body of the Hindus were occupied in praying day and night for the success and victory of Your Majesty's arms and the health and safety of Your Majesty's sacred person. They held up their hands to heaven in supplication for Your Majesty's peace of mind and victory and prosperity of Your Majesty. By Divine mercy the prayers of these people were answered and found acceptance at the threshold of God. Now your devoted slave trusts that the

jizya upon these people would be remitted and the *yaumia* and *madad-i-ma'āsh* would be granted to them so that they might remain occupied with the daily task of prayers for increase of Your Majesty's life, health and prosperity, and for the strength and stability of Your Majesty's Empire. Thus the promise of Your Majesty's devoted slave made with would be taken as honest and truthful.

Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Awadh, too, made a similar request, and said Rājā Chabela Rām, the uncle of this devoted slave, had put forward a request to the martyred Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, before the battle with Muhammad Mu'izzu'd-din to the effect that when with the help and grace of God His Majesty should gain the victory and the Empire the Hindus shall not be harassed by payment of *jizya*; and the martyred Emperor had accepted the Rājā's request Afterwards when success and victory fell to the lot of the martyred King, acting according to the request made by and agreement entered into with Rājā Chabela Rām, he remitted the *jizya* upon the Hindus and thereby placed the entire Hindu community under obligation to the said Rājā for this favour Now I, Your Majesty's grateful and faithful servant hope that on the request of one who is ever ready to sacrifice his life for Your Majesty's cause, the *jizya*, may be remitted so that this group of people may be bound by obligation to me and thus Your Majesty's favours and bounties towards this lowly person may be revealed to them.

As both the Rājās had petitioned the Emperor, with one voice about the matter of the remission of *jizya*, His Majesty, the vicegerent of the all Merciful God, (may God preserve this country and Empire) in his kindness, remitted the *jizya* upon all the Hindus which amounted to four crores of ruppes in all the territories under the imperial jurisdiction Orders were issued that the *jizya* on this community be deemed to have been abolished till the existence of this Empire and its sense of justice remains Accordingly the fortunate sons and nobles of high repute, from generation to generation, and father to son, and the accountants concerned with matter of grave importance and officers responsible for State affairs shall on no account or any excuse hinder or meddle with the Hindu community with

regard to the realization of *jizya*. God's creatures offered prayers for the personal health and safety of His Majesty and the stability of the Empire; they were all well pleased and began to attend to their bussiness and profession.

One of the curious things that happened on (this occasion) was this. Some person in the dead of a night fastened a flag (*bairāq*) to the railing set round the platform of the police station *Chabūtra-i-Kotwāli* of the metropolis and disappeared. A warning in Persian language was written in the flag with the words, "When the King comes out of the fort, let him beware," In the morning the men of the *Kotwāl* took the flag to the *Kotwāl*. When he had read the contents of the note he communicated the same to the Emperor. The newswriter (*waqā'i-nigār*) and spies (*harkāras*) of the *Chabūtra-i-Kotwālī* entered the details in their reports and submitted the same to His Majesty It was ordered that a proclamation should be issued to find out and produce the owner of the flag. When the *Kotwāl* issued the proclamation a mendicant (*faqīr*) named Niranjan[169] put in his appearnace. He was a Musalmān and belonged to a sect of devotees called Āzād (liberated). He went about bareheaded and wore a lion cloth. He confessed "It was I who placed the flag there" He was produced by the *Kotwāl* before His Majesty The chief *Wazīr*, Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur was present there and he requested the Emperor to let the *faqir* be made over to him saying that he would investigate the affair and report the results to His Majesty This was accepted, When the chief *Wazir* took the *faqīr* to his house, according to one version, he beat and flogged him very severely, and then sent him away After this the grand *Wazir* was seized with the disease of stomach pain, and died within a week from that melady Although the physicians, both Indian and Greek, treated him and used all their skill, it was of no avail; the disease went on increasing and the medicines had no effect whatsoever It is related that at the time of beating and whipping the *faqīr* utterred, "the *Wazīru'l-mamalik* is true to the salt that he eats and that whatever happened he had brought that upon himself."

Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, the son of the chief *Wazir*, who held the rank of 5,000 *zāt*/5,000 *suwār*, took to mourning; and

after three days, *Samasāmu'd-daulāh*, *Amīru'l-umarā*, Khān Bahādur *Mausūr Jong* received orders from His Majesty that he should bring Qamaru'd-dīn Khān out of his place of mourning. This was done The *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* brought Qamaru'd-dīn Khān who was presented with a mourning robe and was entitled *I'timādu'd-daulāh*.

Although a group of the nobles were of the view that the office of the chief *Wizārat*, which had fallen vacant on the death of Muhammad Amīn Khān should go to his son, *I'timādu'd-daulāh*, another group was of the opinion that the *Samsāmu'd-daulāh* be appointed to it The Emperor thought it expedient to keep the office of the *Wizārat* in abeyance for the time being and nominated 'Ināyatullāh[170] Khān 'Ālamgīrī as *Nā'ib-wazīr* to carry on the business with which he was well acquainted and granted him a robe of honour. The above mentioned Khān entered upon the business connected with his office

Abdu'ṣ-Samad Khān, the *Nāẓim* of Lahore, and Rājā Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, the *Sūbadār* of Awadh who were at the Court, as ordered by the Emperor took leave of the Emperor and departed to their respective provinces. Sher Afgan Khān[171] was appointed to (the charge of) the *ṣubādārī* of Multan and received a robe of honour, an elephant and a sword.

In the meantime, 'Askarī Khān, the *Faujdār* of Panipat, sent a report saying that the *Zamīndār* of Mardak, a dependency of Panipat,[172] had strengthened the fort and unfurld the banner of revolt and insurgence and refused to pay the revenue due to the government He added that His Majesty's devoted servant ('Askarī Khān) marched against him with the troops he had at hand and that the recalcitrants being proud of the superiority of numbers came out of the fort and became ready for action. The brave warriors of the royal army dismounted from their horses beat them, and drove them back into the fort. In course of time many of the mischief-mongers were sent to the hell; and on his side also some tasted the cup of martyrdom, and many others were wounded He informed that they have besieged the fort and the exchange of fire and arrows was still on. He trusted that by the will of God the most High and by the unfailing good fortune of His Majesty the mischievous

would meet with the punishment they deserve. His Majesty asked Sher Afgan Khān to chastise the rebels and then to take them to his own place of residence. Orders were also issued that the troops commanded by Sher Afgan Khān be reinforced by 2,000 cavalry and on equal number of infantry from the followers of I'timādu'd-daulāh, 2,000 horse and a like number of foot from the royal artillery, 1,000 horse and an equal number of foot from the troops of *Bakhshiu'l-mamalik Samṣāmu'd-daulāh Amiru'l-i-umarā* Bahādur, and 1,000 horses from the troops of Ẓafar Khān Bahādur. This was done. The aforesaid Khān marched with his own detachment and those that had been provided for that purpose, and then he sent a report that on the arrival of the imperial army the malcontents could not muster enough to stand against and oppose the royal army, and they became wanderers in the desert of adversity, and that the devoted slave of the threshold, levelled down the fort of the rebels and then he returned to his *mahāls*.

WAQĀ'i' : Diler Khān,[173] the adopted son of Muhammad Bangash, *Nāẓim* of Allahabad, was acting for his father as a deputy in the said *sūba* and was staying there with a respectable contigent. When in the vicinity of Bahatundah[174] which was situated in the *faujdāri* of the aforesaid Khān, Satrasāl, the *Zamīndār*, raised his head, the foresaid Khān marched against him with the troops he had with him. As the aforementioned *Zamīndār* had assembled twenty-thousand horse and a similar number of foot-soldiers, the Khān encamped at a distance of two *kuroh* to recruit more soldiers before embarking upon the chastisement of the rebel But the afore-named *Zamīndār* forestalled him and opened the fight The aforesaid Khān had to ride out to face him with the force he had at his command, the conflict commenced with bows and arrows and match-lock fire. The said Diler Khān, with his friends and relatives, tasted the cup of martyrdom. When the report of the tragedy was received at the Court, His Sacred Majesty, the shadow of God, asked Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Ẓafar Khān Bahādur, Qamaru'd-din Khān Bahādur, and other grandees to go to the Khān (Muhammed Khān Bangash) to condole with him and offer him solace and compact. They accordingly went and endeavoured to console

Muhammad Khān Bangash and brought him out from the house of mourning. A robe for the mourning of the son was conferred on him.

On the basis of the oral report of Shankar Rāo, the *Harkāra* of the metropolis, it was submitted to His Majesty that in the house of Lachmi Narain, *Qanūngo* of *Pargana Nāgaur, Sarkār* Nārnaul, a woman gave birth to triplets, one son and two daughters, that she died immediately after, and that when her dead body had been placed on the pyre, which, according to custom obtaining among the Hindus, was to be lit with fire for cremating the same, another daughter was born to that dead women, thus bringing the total to four, three daughters and one son But three of the infants died, only one daughter survived. His Majesty remarked that this was the proof of the power of the Lord

WAQĀ'I' · On the first of the blessed month of *Ramazān* A H 1133 in the third regnal year, His Majesty of mighty power, seated on a moveable throne, and accompanied by the great nobles and powerful *mansabdārs*, proceeded to, and arrived at, the *'Idgāh* of the metropolis, and after reciting prayer, and listening to the *khutba* granted as *in'ām* two robes of honour and 1,000 rupees to the *Mu'azzin* (Crier of call for prayers) and the *khatīb* (preacher) After this he mounted his elephant and returned to the Palace As he went along the road he scattered with his hands rupees and flowers of gold and silver among the crowd assembled on both sides. On the way, near the Jāmi' Masjid, on account of a led horse belonging to some one, getting restless struck a royal covered litter which was empty It fell on the ground but remained intact. One of the palanquin-bearers (*kahār*) had his hand broken and another was wounded. The other palanquin-bearers of that moving throne seized the horse When the matter was reported to His Majesty, and the owner of the horse was produced, His Majesty, with his wonted sense of equity and justice ordered that the horse be returned to the owner, and this was done.

WAQĀ'I' : The *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik, Samṣāmu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān, *Amiru'l-umarā Manṣūr Jang* and *Raushanu'd-daulah* Zafar Khān Bahādur presented to His Majesty 1,000 *ashrafi* each, Sayyid Nusrat Yār[170] Khān Bahādur offered 100

muhrs; Rājā *Indar Dhirāj* Jai Singh *Sawāi*·500 *muhrs*; Irādatmand Khān and Rājā Gūjar[177] Mal presented nine *muhrs* each; Rāi Muhkam Singh, Rāi Ganjaman,[178] Khema Jāt and Khwāja 'Ibādullāh Khān presented two *muhrs* each. Rājā Rāj Bahādur presented *eleven muhrs*. All of them were given betel leaves and perfumes.

As the *Diwān-i-'ām* (the Hall of Public audience) was almost ready forthe celebrations of the *Naurūz*,[179] His Majesty ordered that preparations should soon be completed and that side chambers be also provided because on Sunday, the 9th of *Shawwāl*,[180] which would be a propitious day, he intended to sit there and celebrate the *Jashn* (festivity).

WAQĀ'I' : When the Hall of Public audience and the side-rooms covered with brocade and velvet, with painted flowers worked in gold and silver, had been duly set, 40 round, shaded lanterns (*qumqum*) were suspended (from the ceiling) in the *Diwān-i-'ām* and on 9th of *Shawwāl*, the third regnal year, 7 *gharis* (hour) after sunrise, His Sacred Majesty, the shadow of God, emerged out and gave away an elephant in charity and after he had been weighed in the scales, he set out mounted on his moving throne and came to the *Diwān-i-'ām*. After performing the prayers with two genuflexions (*namāz-i-dogāna, i.e.* prayer with double prostrations) he seated himself upon the royal peacock throne, studded with jewels, which was made in the time of the preceding rulers at the cost of 9 crores, 9 lakhs, 9 thousand, 9 hundreds, and 99 rupees, 9 *tanka* of black *pal* (copper coins) and 9 *kharmuhra* (small shells called *kaori*) [181] In accordance with the instruction of His Majesty pearls and rubies (*yāqūt*) were scattered on all sides in charity and alms The great nobles paid their respects and made their obeisance. Prostitutes sang and danced both on the right and left. A review was held of elephants and horses. Among the elephants there was one called Khūshi Khān (lord of gaiety) upon which Emperor Farrukhsiyar was seated when he won his victory. This along with three female elephants passed before His Majesty with the beating of drums and scattering alms.

Bkhshiu'l-mamālik, *Samṣāmu'd-daulāh*, Khān-i-daurān Bahādur *Manṣūr Jang* presented to His Majesty one lakh of

rupees and a pearl necklace worth 25,000 rupees, and received in reward a robe of honour, an ornamented turban, and a girdle set with jewels (gift) *Mu'izzu'd-daulāh* Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Bahādur and *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Qamaru'd-dīn Khān presented one lakh rupees each, and each of them received a robe of honour and an embroiderd turban. Rājā *Indar Dhirāj* presented 1,000 *muhrs* and received a dress of honour and embroidered turban *Raushanu'd-daulāh* Zafar Khān Bahādur made an offering of 10,000 *muhrs* and was distinguished with the grant of a robe of honour and a turban ornamented with gold and pearls Mīr Jumla Bahādur, the *Sadrus sudūr*, presented a lakh[182] of rupees and a horse and received a dress of honour and an ornamented turban Muhammad Khān Bangash made an offering of 1,000 *muhrs*, and a mirror with a golden frame and was favoured with a robe of honour. Shāh 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr *Darwesh*[183] presented 1,000 *muhrs* and his son, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, offered 20,000 rupees, both were favoured with robes of honour Irādatmand Khān offered 1,000 *muhrs* and received a robe of honour and his *mansab* was increased by 1000 *zāt*.

An offering of one lakh of rupees sent by Her Highness Qudsiya (Begam), the Fatima[184] of the age, the Mariam of the time, mother of His Sacred Majesty, was placed before His Majesty, but it was remitted (back to her). Khwaja 'Ibādullāh[185] presented a sword, Khwāja Mu'izz Khān a looking glass set with golden frame, and Ḥimāyatullāh Khān a fly flapper (*Chaunrī*) with a handle of agate Muzaffar Khān presented a pearl necklace, Nusrat Yār Khān, Mahaldār Khān,[186] Rājā Lachchi Rām,[187] and Rājā Rāj Bahādur[188] each presented a dagger with jewelled handles Tāli' Yār Khān[189] and *Hakīm*[190] 'Alawī Khān each presented one volume of the Qurān. Jawāhir Khān[191] presented a jewelled ring, and Hafiz Khān an ornamented headband Sher Afgan Khān sent a present of 100 *muhrs* and *zumurrud* a string of pearls of 60 beads. One thousand *ashrafis* and one lakh of rupees were sent by Jafar Khān, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Bengal; Bu 'Alī Khān[192] and Jabbār Qulī Khān,[193] each presented a matchlock; Manohar *Hazāri*, a shield, Kushal Singh *Hazāri* a musket; and Fazl 'Alī Khān 5 *muhrs* and an ornamented dagger. A slave who was a vegetable seller presented 5 baskets (*panj dālī*) full of vegetables

One cup of *Argaja* and perfume and betel leaves were given to each of the following as *in'ām* : Ghāzīu'd-dīn Khān, Muhammad Khān Bangash, 'Azīmullāh Khān,[194] Irādatmand[195] Khān and Saifullāh Khān[196] and others. When two *pās* and two *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty rose and returned to the Palace.

WAQĀ'I'. On the 10th of the same month, ofter one *pahr* and five *gharis* had passed, His Majesty ascended the moving litter and sat on a *Mondha* (foot-stool). He entered the *Dīwān-i-'ām* and seated himself on the peacock throne. Prostitutes and male dancers (*natwāha*), displayed their skill in music and dancing. The standard (mi'yār) horses and elephants were reviewed. Ismā'īl Khān and Allāhwardī Khān[197] each presented 5 *muhrs*, 'Alī Mīr Kalān offered 2 *muhrs*, Bahādur Singh Jahāngīrī presented a *zauj* (a cover thrown over a camel-litter); Ghalib Khān offered 2 *morchhals* (fans) made of the feathers of Huma bird[198] (phoenix). Ra'd Andāz Khān, Diyānat Rāi, and Sultān 'Alī Khān presented 5 *muhrs* each and priming pan (*ranjakdāni*);[199] Habībullāh Khān and Hīrāman Hazārī, presented two partridges; Hakīm Masīhu'z-zamān presented (a copy of) *panjsūra* (fine chapters of the Qurān), Rāi Rāyān Ganjaman presented a fan made of the feather of Huma (phoenix) and Hinga *Hazārī* two *morchhals*. Kāmyāb Khān[200] laid before the Emperor the articles which had been sent by Muhammad Yār Khān viz. dagger with golden handle, along with a pearl-studded sheath, a jewelled inkstand, a fan with jewelled handle, crystal bottle of scent and a cup and plate of agate.

Amīnu'd-dīn Khān Bahādur was entitled *Amīnu'd-daulah* and was granted a robe of honour and an ornamented turban Irādatmand Khān, 'Ā'zam Khān,[201] 'Ibādullāh Khān, Diler Dil Khān, each received a dress of honour and an ornamented turban. Saifullāh Khān and Lutfullāh Khān were awarded robes of honour, and Samsāmu'd-daulāh received a garland of flowers (*turra-i-gul-ha*) and a small vessel full of perfumes. Qamaru'd-dīn Khān was favoured with a robe of honour, and an embroidered headdress; Haidar Qulī Khān and Zafar Khān, each, was favoured with the grant of a special robe of honour of six pieces of cloth.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 11th of the same month after one *pahr* and three *gharīs* of the day had passed His Majesty came to the *Dīwān-i 'ām*, mounted on a moving litter sitting on *mondha*, and took his seat on the peacock throne. He enjoyed the spectacle of dancing and singing of the dancing girls and the male dancers (*natwāhās*) Some horses and elephants were reviewed Marhamat Khān,[202] son of the late Amīr Khān who had come from the Deccan was led into audience by Ẓafar Khān and offered 100 *muhrs* and 1,000 rupees, and received in reward a robe of honour and an embroidered headdress and also betel leaves. 'Ināyat Khān, grandson of the late Asad Khān offered a *khat*, Muhammad Khān, and Arab 'Alī Khān, each presented a musket. Bu 'Alī Khān offered 2 *muhrs* Muhammad Sālih a bow; Vijay Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Newadah,[203] had sent an *'arzdāsht* with 30 *muhrs*, these were placed before His Majesty Khidmatgār Khān received a special robe and a jewelled dagger Islām Khān and Afzal Khān, Monsieur Martin, the *Firangi*[204] (the European) and Muẓaffar Khān, each received a robe of honour and also turban studded with gold Ahmad Quli Khān, 'Aqidat Khān, and *Hakīm* Kāzim, each was given a special robe as *in'ām*. When two *pahrs* and two *gharīs* of the day had passed, His Majesty retired to the Palace

WAQĀ'I' On the 12fth of the said month after on *pahr* 5 *gharīs* of the day had passed His Majesty repaired to the *Dīwān-i-'ām*, riding on his moving throne, took his seat on the peacock throne, and celebrated the *Jashn* (festivities). High grandees made their obeisance, and groups of dancing girls etc gave demonstrations of music and dance. The standard of horse and elephants were reviewed Khawāja Yār Khān presented one hundred *muhrs*, and Ra'imat Khān and Hasan Khān offered two *muhrs* each. Ni'mat 'Alī Khān presented a Yamani *sarpech* (headdress) Ghazīu'd-dīn Khān, Irādatmand Khān, and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān each received a robe of honour, and an embroidered headdress 'Ābid Khān, Kokaltash Khān[205] Munawwar 'Alī Khān,[206] Fazl 'Alī Khān,[207] Jānish Khān, Muhammad Rahīm[208] Koka, each received a robe of honour and an embroidered headdress. Shā'ista Khān[209] got a special robe and a *jigha* studded with gold; and Chīn Barlās Khān,

Tarbiyat Khān,[210] Ismā'il 'Aṭār Khān each received a robe of honour. Ṣamsāmu'd-daulāh, Rājadhirāj, Mīr Jumla and Lutfullāh Khān, each received a cup full of *Argaja* perfume and betel leaves. Allāhwardī Khān received a robe of honour and an embroidered headdress, and was promoted to the rank of 5,000 *ẓāt*/2000 *suwar*. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān[211] received a robe of honour and an embroidered *sarpech*, and Saifullān Khān was favoured with the girt of betel leaves. Muḥammad Qāsim, son of Zafar Khān Bahādur, received a robe of honour and a embroidered turban. After 2 *pahrs* and 2 *gharīs* of the day His Majesty rose and returned to his palace.

WAQĀ'I' · On the 13th of the same month after one *pahr* and three *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty proceeded in his moving litter, came to the *Dīwān-i-'am*, and sat on the throne, studded with jewels. The band of dancing girls displayed their acts of dancing and music The standard of horses and elephants was reviewed. Karāmat Khān and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān presented two *muhrs* each, Muhammad Ishāq[212] one *muhr*; Rao Sakat Singh five *muhrs*; Walī Muhammad Khan five *muhrs*; 'Azīmullāh Khān, an embroidered headgear, 'Alī Qulī Khān and Mīr Ma'sūm, each presented specimen of beautiful writing, and Hinga *Hazāri* presented five partridges. Each of the following namely; Rājā Rāj Bahādur, Koka Khān,[213] Turāb 'Alī Khān, Mīr Hasan[214] Khān, 'Azīmullāh Khān, Ḥamīd Khān, Allāh Yār Khān,[215] I'timād Khān, Talī' Yār Khān, received a robe of honour and embroidered headdress Rājā Gūjar Mal and 'Āqil Beg,[216] Hamīdu'd-dīn Khān,[217] and Khwāja Sultān, each was granted a robe of honour and golden headdress Sipahdār Khān[218] and Tarbīyat Khān, each received a dress of honour and a *kamar-i-muttaka-i-muraṣṣa'* (girdls or a cloth worn round the waist). Khwāja Sa'īdu'd-dīn Khān and Bū 'Alī Khān each was favoured with a robe of honour. Mīr Jumla was granted a ringlet of flowers and Irādatmand Khān was honoured with a grant of *Māhī wa marātib* (figures of a fish and other insignia-two balls carried as ensigns upon elephants). Diler Dil Khān the *Khān-i-buyūtāt* (keeper of kings household accounts) was distinguished with the title of *Naṣīru'd-daulāh* Bahādur. Mīr Qudratullāh, Fath 'Alī Khān Khwās[219] Khān, 'Āfiyat Beg Khān, Asad 'Alī Khān,[220] It'ibār

Khān, Ḥāfiz Khān, Malik Murād Beg Khān, Manṣūr 'Alī Khān, Masūd Khān, 'Alī Ahmad Khān,[221] Sher Muhammad Khān, Muhammad Sa'īd Khān, Dārāb Khān, Ghālib Khān, each received a special robe of honour Samṣāmu'd-daulah 'Azīmullāh Khān, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, Haidar Qulī Khān, Mīr Jumla, Zafar Khān, Ghāzīud-dīn Khān, Irādatmand Khān, Salābat Khān, Diler Dil Khān, each was favoured with a gift of betel leaves Orders were issued that *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Qamaru'd-dīn Khān should be addressed with the title *Madāru'd-daulāh*. When two *pahrs* and two *gharīs* of the day had passed His Majesty rose and returned to the Palace

WAQĀ'I' · On the 14th of the said month, Friday, arrangements for ladies were made in the *Dīwān-i-'ām* and the *Dīwān-i-khās*. On the 15th of the month, His Majesty came to the *Dīwān i-'am* after one *pahr* and two *gharis* of the day, riding on the moving litter, and set on the throne studded with jewels The nobles made their obeisance The female dancers and others gave their performances in music and dancing. Standard elephants and horses were reviewed Nusrat Yār Khān presented a pearl necklace and Muhammad 'Alī, Afzal Khān, Muhammad Hamīd and Muhammad Shajā'at each presented a bow Sayyid Salābat Khān,[222] Tahauwur Khān,[223] Ikhlās Khān, 'Alāu'd-dīn Khān, Muhammad Khān, Salābat Khān, Saif Khān [224] each of them received a robe of honour and a bedecked headdress Khairullāh Beg Khān, Mustafā Qulī Khān, Bakhtāwar Khān,[225] Ihtimām Khān, each received a robe of honour and ornameted turban. 'Arab 'Alī Khān, Mukhlis Khān, Ni'mat 'Alī Khān, Jān Nisār Khān,[226] each received a robe of honour Hushyār Khān got a special robe of honour and a girdle worked in gold (*kamar-i-muttaka murassa'*) Muhammad Khān and Ahmad Khān and three thers received robes of honour Khanāzād Khān, Nand Rām, Hamza Khān, Shafī'ud-din Khān,[227] Kāmyāb Khān, Tawakkul Khān, Fathullāh Khān, Amīr Ahmad Khān, Sharaf 'Alī Khān, Hanfī Khān, Sarbarāh Khān,[228] Hakīmu'l-mulk,[229] Ahliyat Khān,[230] 'Arab Khān, Nusrst Khān, Asadu'd-dīn Khān, Mīr Khān, and Saif Alī Khān, and others each was distinguished with a *khil'at* (robe of honour) Lutfullāh Khān Sādiq[231] was granted the title of *Shamsu'd-davlāh Bahādur Mutahauwir Jang*

(furious in war); and a robe of honour and bedecked headdress made over to the *Wakīl* (agent) of Muhammad Khān Bangash, with directions that he should deliver them to him. When two *pahrs* and three *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty rose, and went into the Palace

WAQĀ'I' : On the 16th of the same month when one *pahr* and one *gharīs* of the day had passed His Majesty came out and proceeded in his moving litter (seated) on a *mondha* He entered the *Dīwān-i-'ām*, occupied the ornamented and golden peacock throne, and enjoyed the singing and dancing of a band of professional women artists. The standard of horses and elephants was reviewed. One thousand *muhrs* sent by Abdus Samad Khān, *Sūbadār* of Lahore, and 100 *muhrs* sent by his son, Zikriyā Khān, were laid before His Majesty. Nand Rām and Faujdār Khān offered 5 *muhrs* each Thān Singh presented two *mūhrs*, Āin Khān 100 *muhrs*; the Balkh envoy 5 *muhrs* and Sayyid Hikmat-Khān 2 *muhrs*. Nuṣrat Yār Khān received a special robe of honour and a sword with bejewelled handle. Himāyatullāh Khān, Rizā Wafā[232] Khān, Fatḥu'z-zamān Khān, *Hakīmu'l-mulk*, Khabardār Khān, Fidā'i Khān 'Izzat 'Alī Khān, Bahjat Khān, Amīnu'd-daulāh, and Rājā Lachchhi Rām, each received a robe of honour and a bejewelled headdress Rasūl Beg Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān, Khwāja Iltimās Khān, Darbār Khān, Fath Mubārak Khān, Khān, Jahān Khān, Ḥaqīqat Khān and other each received a special robe of honour and ornamented headdress Rustam Khān, Hidāyatullāh Khān, Khabardār Khān, Lodhi Khān, Diler Ḥimmat Khān, 'Ināyat Khān, Sharfu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān, Māyā[233] Rām, Rāi Muhkam Singh, Amīnu'd-dīn Khān, 'Alī Murād Khān, 'Alī Muhammad Khān, Sanjar[234] Khān, and Shamshīr Khān were granted, each of them, a robe of honour Mahdī 'Alī, Saf Shikan Khān, Rahīmullāh Khān, Fath Mubārak Khān, Dāwardād Khān,[235] Mun'im Khān, and others also received dresses of honour. Mīr Musharraf received a dress of honour of six pieces of cloth. As on the previous day 'Ināyatullāh Khān, deputy of the *Dīwn-i-a'la* had presented a mirror of agate and also an ornamented headdress, he was granted a robe of six pieces, a *jīgha-i-muraṣṣa'* and a girdle

(*kamar-i-muttaka*). Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Samsāmu'd-daulāh were awarded with flowers, perfumes and betel leaves.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 17th of the same month at two *pahrs* and two *gharīs* of the day His Majesty proceeded on his moving litter, and sat on the decorated throne in the *Dīwan-i-'ām*. Troups of dancing girls and others sang and danced. After that His Majesty recited prayer for the closing of the festival and lifting his hands up towards the sky supplicated for God's blessing. Then His Majesty left the *Dīwān-i-'ām* by the wicket (*Khirkī*) of the *dīwān* and entered the Palace. 'Arab Khān presented five gold *muhrs* and Baṣālat Khān made an offering of a manuscript to His Majesty at the wicket

WAQĀ'I' . On the 21st of the month of *Shawwāl*, 4th regnal year, when below the lattice window (*Jharokha*) tigers were being fed, a child presented a petition Both the complainant and the defendent being present, during conversation it was revealed that the child's father had been a *manṣabdār*. His Majesty conferred on the child a *mansab* of 200 *zāt*.

WAQĀ'I' . The *'arzdāsht* of Rājā Gridhar Bahādur *Nāẓim* of *Sūba* Awadh, was laid before His Majesty. It was to the effect that a rebel named Sukha[236] (*Singha*) Gaur, the *Zamīndār* of the villages in the *Pargana* of Kheri and Laharpur etc which formed the dependencies of the *Sarkār* of Khairābād of Awadh *Sūba* had, with force and violence, seized the villages of the mentioned *pargana* and about ten to twelve *parganas* in the aforesaid *sarkār*, belonging to wealthy (*shurafā*) as well as *rizā ra'yā* (peasants) and had raised the standard of rebellion. Having entered on the path of highway robbery and plunder he was indulging in high handedness and was harassing the inhabitants of these places in various ways He had established himself in a village named Sambia[237a] (Sibia?) lying in the *Pargana* of Sadarpur, which was surrounded by a thorny Jungle and is a secure place. Hence he had built a strong mudfort and resisted payment of revenue (*māl-i-wājib*). This humble servant of the royal threshold, having enlisted 10,000 horse and equal number of foot, in addition to his own troops, numbering 10,000 cavalry and larger number of infantry, and accompanied by a number of loyal *zamīndārs* of the *ṣūba*, making an altogether total of 40,000 horses and a larger force

of infantry, marched and beseiged the fortress of the insurgent, which was surrounded on all its four sides by a deep ditch, and trees of lance-like reeds. For full three months the operations were carried on with vigour causing the wicked fellow to face the days of distress and ruin.

Some of the *zamīndārs* who were outwardly friendly towards this slave of the threshold, but were secretly in league with the rebel, were posted to the trenches near the fort. That mischievous villainous one came to a secret understanding with them and managed to escape in the night with his followers, and saved his life. When this humble servant of the threshold, found out what had happened, he levelled the fort to the ground. The aforesaid *zamīndārs* who were holding the trenches by which the rebels had escaped were seized and put in confinement.

It was brought to the notice that the aroresaid rebel had taken refuge in the fortress of village Kaither (?) belonging to the *Pargana* of Laharpur, which was stronger than the fortress of Sambha (Sibia). The humble servant who is ever ready to sacrifice his life for his master, after dismantling the fortress of Sambha marched immediately without hesitation or delay towards Kaither which was at a distance of 20 *kuroh* north of the former place. God willing, by the good fortune of the King of kings, this devoted slave, would bring about the complete extermination of the rebels so that no trace of them remains behind

WAQĀ'I: The royal *farmān* in reply to the above· Protector of the State and dominion, the support of power and strength, the excellent of the Rājās of high descent. the chosen of the highly placed and sincere friend, may be hopeful of favours and consideration. Let it be known to him and it should not remain hidden and concealed from him that the '*arzdāsht* has been duly received It gave an account of the vile and mischievous activities of the accursed Singha Gaur, the seige you opened of the fort in the village Sangha, belonging to the *Pargana* of Sadarpur, the abode of the aforesaid rebel, with a force of 40,000 horses and an equal number of foot, consisting of your servants and loyal *zamīndārs*; the escape of the vile insurgent with his followers from that fort after the

operations had lasted for three months; and the secret understanding that he had established with the *zamīndārs* who served Your Highness and were posted and were in charge of the line of entrenchment, and the arrest and confinement of those *zamīndārs*, the refuge taken by the said rebel in the fortress of village Kaither belonging to the *Pargana* of Laharpur, the capture of the said fort by him, and the march of Your Highness in pursuit of the rebel, and your expression of determination (*Ibrāz*) that with the grace of God Your Highness would acomplish the complete destruction of the rebel and leave no trace of him behind. Your actions have been deemed worthy of all praise and approbation. The fact of the rebel having escaped from the fort of Sanbha, with the assistance or connivance of the *zamīndārs* who had conspired with him, had been cofirmed to us by some reliable people from those parts who are now present in Court and who are worthy of trust It is not imporbable and would it be beyond the fox-like nature of the aforesaid rebel to demolish mosques.[237b] prohibit the public call for prayer (*azān*) and cause ruin and loss to the noble, the learned and the poor in the *Sarkār* of Khairabad. He might also seize some of the *mahāls* of the *Sarkār* strengthen his position by erecting strong forts, here and there, and engage in practising of highway robbery and plunder in various ways, and inflicting injury and oppression upon the inhabitants of that region, depopulate and desolate it Therefore, that pillar of the State is hereby directed to march with all possible speed, and lay seige to the fortress of Kaither; seize the rebel alive and send him to the Court In case he takes up his sword or resists, his head should be cut off and forwarded to the court As soon as report of his having been taken prisoner or put to death reaches here, that excellent of the State would be distinguished and honoured with various kinds of favours and considerations. What else to write?

WAQĀ'I'. Khānazād Khān, the son of Sarbaland Khān Bahādur, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Kabul who had been busy in fighting the Afghāns of Jalalak[238] and in chastising them had exhibited great zeal and much exertion and was a rank holder

of 4,000 *zāt*/3,000*suwār*, was given an increase of 1,000 *zāt* and 1,000 *suwār* and was awarded the title of *Bahādur*.

Out of the property belonging to the late Hazrat Begam, daughter of Khuldmakān (Aurangzeb) one canopeed elephant litter having a net covering and gold *kalas* (dome) and *chandol* (a kind of sedan), in addition to a pearl necklace, was given as gift to Mihru'n-nisa *alias* Mihr Parwar Begam.

On the 6th of *Zul-hijja* Friday, year 3 of accession, when two *pahrs* and two *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty proceeded on his moving throne towards the *Jāmi'Masjid*, recited the Friday prayer, listened to the *khutba*, and after circumbalating the blessed ruins, after covering about half a *kuroh* in going and coming he returned to the Palace. After this, towards the end of the day His Majesty entered the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*. The physician *Mu'tabaru'l-mulk*,[239] Ahmad Quli Khān, and Alā Khān appeared in audience His Majesty was pleased to speak in terms of commendation of the medicines of the said physician. The physician bowed down and made his obeisance. After that His Majesty entered the Palace.

On the 7th of the same month, five *gharis* after sunrise, His Majesty entered the rosary chapel and sat on chair (*Kursī*). *Hakim Mu'tabaru'l-mulk*, *Hakīmu'l*-hukamā and Monsieur Martin *firangī* were present. After having some conversation with them His Majesty returned to the Palace. The meeting was adjourned

Two jars of red wine brought by Jāwed Khān[240] were taken into the Palace. His Majesty wrote a *shuqqa* (a short royal letter) with the foreign pen, directing Khwāja I'tibār Khān to remit 1,000 rupees for the royal (household) expenses. The Khwāja did as directed. An envelope was sent to Mīr Jumla Bahādur, *Sadru'ṣ-ṣudūr* The white *Karela* (momordica charantia) sent by Muhammad Yār Khān was received into the Palace. An envelope was sent to *Bakhshīu'l-mamālik*. A tray of food from His Majesty's kitchen was sent to the physician, *Mu'tabaru'l-mulk*. Karamullāh, the courtier, conveyed the royal order to Khwās Khān directing him to send a set (*zauj*) of *Karanphūl* (a kind of ear-ring) worth 400 rupees to the Palace; this was accordingly done. Khwāja Mahram Khān Chingīzī brought into the Palace (a basket of) flowers sent by

Qamarud-dīn Khān. A petition submitted by Samsāmu'd-daulāh was sent into the Palace. Two envelopes, one addressed to 'Ināyatullāh Khān, and the other to Shāh 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, were issued out.

Two *gharīs* after sunset special arrangements were made in the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣ* for the ladies of the Palace. Ibrāhim and others, in all 13 *Shab bāz* (puppet show men who play at night or night watchman) i e. *rahkhwāl* were allowed to look after the ladies. When one *pahr* and five *gharīs* of the night had passed, the aforesaid persons came out.

On the 8th of the same month of the same year four and a half *gharīs* after sunrise His Majesty came to the *Tasbīḥ Khāna* (rosary chapel). *Hakīm Mu'tabaru'l-mulk*, *Ḥakīmul-hukamā Hakīm* Kāzīm 'Ali, Monsieur Martin *Firangī* and Ahmad Qulī Khān made their obeisance. After some conversations with them the audience came to a close and His Majesty entered the Palace. A *lifafā* was issued to Qamaru'd-dīn Khān.

On the 9th of the said month, three and a half *gharī* after sunrise, His Majesty seated himself on a chair. The physicians, *Mu'tabaru'l-mulk*, *Hakīmu'-hukamā*, *Hakīmu'l-mamālik Hakīm* Masīh Zamān Khān, and *Hakīm* Kāzim 'Alī Khān examined the pulse of His Majesty. After this Tāli' Yār Khān andAhmad Qulī Khān made their obeisance After some conversation with them, His Majesty returned to his Palace. One and a half *gharī* before sunset His Majesty held the Court (of justice) Irādatmand Khān who had recovered from illness, presented nine *muhrs*. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Khān, Sāir 'Alī Khān, Shāh Muhammad Beg Khān, 'Abul-Khair, Subhān Wardī Khān, Dulāh Khān, Superintendant (*nazir* in attendance in the *Dīwān-i-'ām*. Tāli' Yār Khān, 'Abul-Mukarim Khān and others received, each, a dress of honour in connection with *Jashn* Nizāmu'd-dīn Khān was appointed as the assistant (*Peshdast*) of the *Bakhshī* of the *Wālāshāhīs* (house-troops) of the time of the martyred king (Farrukhsiyar) and received a robe. It was ordered that the month of *Zul-qāda* should be written as *mah-i-mubarak* (blessed month). Afterwards it was ordered that it should be written as *Zul-q'āda-i-mubārak*. Nathmal, an old servant of His Imperial Majesty was given robe of honour and a pair of ear-rings with pearls costing two thousand

rupees, one horse and 200 *muhrs*. Lotus flowers (*nilofar*) and perfume sent by Qamaru'd-dīn Khān were placed before His Majesty. An envelope (*lifāfa*) was sent to *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik*. Some lotus stalks (*Kanwalgatta*) and other articles sent by Muhammad [241] Yār were taken inside the Palace.

A letter was received from Ghulām Rasūl Khān, the news-writer (*Waqāi' nigār*) of Sikandarabad[242] saying that Ṣābit Khān, the *Faujdār* of that place, had set out to chastise Fath Singh, *Zamindār* of Kather, [243] belonging to the *Pargana* of Kol, who had thousands of Mewātis with him and was in the habit of plundering all the caravans that come from Akbarābād and the east. The said *Zamindār* sallied out of the village, and action ensued Many men of both sides were killed or wounded; but eventually the aforesaid Khān gained the victory, and the rebel *Zamindār* having taken to flight, became a wanderer in the desert of adversity Orders were issued that he should come and pay his respects(?)

A tray full of *Wilāyati* (Persian or Kabuli) apples sent by Qamaru'd-din was placed before His Majesty who ate one of them. On the 10th of the month, after one *pahr* four *gharis*- of the day, His Majesty came out and honoured the *Diwān-i-'ām* with his presence. One *Mushki* horse (dark bay) one camel, one bull, one riding mule, one black slave, goats and buffaloes, gold and silver, silken cloth of green and other colours of green satin (*atlas*), Jewels, a sword, dagger, and 1,000 rupees in cash were given away in alms. After this His Majesty entered the Palace. At the end of the day His Majesty repaired to the Palace of Mirror. He gave to Qamaru'd-dīn Khān a lotus flower from among the flowers that had been sent by Muhammad Yār Khān which he held in his hand. After this he went back to the Palace.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 11th of the same month, four *gharis* before sunset, His Majesty took his seat in a chair. Qamarud-dīn (Khān), the *Bakhshīu'l-mamālik*, Muẓaffar Khān, Ḥaidar Quli Khān, *Rājadhirāj*, Irādatmand Khān, Kokaltash Khān, 'Azīz Khān, Bahādur,' 'Irādatullāh Khān, Rājā Gūjar Mal, Jawāhir Khān, and others made their obeisance. After it, nine horses were led before His Majesty. After the close of the audience Mīr Jumla was allowed to present a horse. His

Majety observeed that the horse was lean and thin and care should be taken to get it fattened and then to present it. The fruits and stalks of lotus, some *Karelas* and gourds sent by Muhammad Yār Khān were submitted.

A *farmān* and some gifts were sent on the occasion of the *Jashn* (festival) to Sarbaland Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Kabul, and similarly a *farmān* was sent to his son Khānazād Khān With each *farmān* a *khil'at* and an ornamental turban were handed over to mace-bearers who were asked to deliver the same to the persons concerned. Abdu's-Samad Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Lahore, and his son *Zikriyā* Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *Suba* of Kashmir, each of them was granted a *farmān*, robe of honour and an embroidered *sarpech* Sa'ādat Khān, the *Nāẓim* of *Sūba* Akbarābād, was granted a *farmān*, a special robe of honour and an embroidered *sarpech* *Niẓāmu'l-mulk*, the *Nāẓim* of the *Subas* of the Deccan was conferrred a *farmān*, a special robe of honour, an embroidered *sarpech* and an ornamented *jigha* Muhammed Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān, his son, granted a special robe of honour and jewels Rājā Gopāl Singh the Rājā of Bhadāwar and Sayyid Husain, the *Faujdār* of Jammu, each of them was granted a special robe of honour Mubāriz Khān,[244] the *Nāẓim* of Haidarbad, and Rājā Gridhar Bahādur, the *Nāẓim* of *Sūba* Awadh, each of them was granted a special robe of honour, and jewels A robe of honour and jewels were sent to Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Ajmer through two mace-bearers who were directed not to allow the aforesaid Khān to leave Manoharpur till the royal orders had reached there

WAQA'I' On the 12fth of the month both the audiences (*diwān*) were dispensed with. A letter in a cover was sent to *Bakhshīu'l-mamalik* and another envelope was addressed to 'Aziz Khān A palanquin with a fringed awning was granted to Fakhru'd-dīn Khān,[245] brother of Zafar Khān

WAQA'I' On the 13th of the said month some stalks of lotus (*Kanwalgatta*) sent by Muhammad Yār Khān, were laid before His Majesty Amīr'ud-dīn Khān was desired not to allow any one other than those in the imperial employ to present petition in the *Dīwān-i-'am* Mīr Tūzak was directed to look after Ten soldiers (*duh nafar qual*) were appointed as

sazāwāl with orders to get the railings of the *Diwān-i-'ām* prepared with gold.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 14th of the same month, one *pahr* and two *gharis* after sunrise, His Majesty came out and held the *Diwān-i-'ām*. Seven horses including *Koh Shukoh* (the gigantic) and five elephants, were led before His Majesty. After sitting for two *gharis*. His Majesty rose and closed the audience. Samsāmu'd-daulāh and Ẓafar Khān, each presented 18 *muhrs*, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān offered 21 *muhrs* and 'Aẓīmullāh Khān and Irādatmand Khān nine *muhrs* each. Khwās Khān, Ḥayāt Khān, Jawāhir Khān, Mahaldār Khān, Rāja Gūjar Mal, Lutfullāh Khān, Zumurrad Khān,[246] Rājā Inder Singh, I'tibār Khān, 5 *muhrs* each. Darbār Khān, Jawīd Khān, Khabardār Khān, Rājā Lachchhi Rām, Muhammad Rahīm Khān Hushyār Khān, Tarbīyat Khān, Diler Dil Khān,[247] and Ya'qūt Khān presented 2 *muhrs* each 'Aqīdat Khān and Sultān Khān offered two *muhrs* each; 'Ināyat Khān, *Faujdar* of Hisar, offered two *muhrs* ; his son, Faqrullāh, Munawwar Khān, and Ghazanfar Khān, *Faujdār* of Jammu, presented two horses as a present (*niyāz-wa-peshkash*) for their first audience in the *Diwān-i-'ām*. Abdu'r Rafī' was appointed as *Bakhshi* end *Waqai'-nawis* of Sahāranpūr[248] and was given a robe of honour.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 15th of the said month, and the same year, when four *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty came out and sat on a chair. After some talk with Zafar Khān Bahādur, His Majesty returned to the Palace. Two *gharis* before sunset, His Majesty came to *Jāma Khāna* (wardrobe or robing chamber) and with his own hands distributed alms to the poor and deserving. An exlated *farmān* was issued to Niẓāmu'l-mulk, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūbas* of the Deccan, directing him to send to the Court under escort of his own forces the family members of the murdered Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān, who were residing in the fort of Daulatābād.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 16th of the said month, in the same year, neither of the two audiences was held. In the evening, *Rājadhirāj*, Ḥaidar Quli Khān, and Qamaru'd-dīn Khān made their obeisance. His Majesty gave alms to the poor and deserving.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 17th of the same month, when one *pahr* five *gharis* of the day had passed, His Majesty came out and sat on the chair. Irādatmand Khān, the *Diwān* of *Khāliṣa Sharifa* (superintendent of His Majesty's private estates), was ennobled with the title *Sharafu'd-daulāh Bahādur*. Allāhwardi Khān presented to His Majesty a *Qarqara* (demoiṣelle crane) and a *kulang* (heron or crane) Jugal Kishore[249] was favoured with the grant of a robe of honour and a pair of ear-rings set with pearls. Mir Abū Tālib was appointed as *Qal'adār* (of the fort of Agarsen and the *Waqia'-nigār* of the *Sūba* of Malwa in place of Mirzā Bāqir Khān and was favoured with a robe. A female dress of honour set with Jewels (*aurisi*) was granted for the wife *Monsieur* Martin, the European, who was in the port (of Surat?)

WAQĀ'I' : On the 18th of the said month, Fath Mubārak etc., five horses were led before the Emperor On the 19th of the same month of the same year Daulat Rām *Harkārā* of Lahore, *Sūba* sent a report through Rājā Gūjar Mal that, on 6th of *Shawwāl*, Abdu's-Samad Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba* of Lahore went to the mansion of the late Khān-i-Jahān[250] Bahādur, situated on the bank of Jamuna, held a banquet, fed the officials of he city and the sons of the grandees and *mansabdārs*, with himself Perfumes and betel leaves were distributed, and prayers were offered for His Majesty's safety and prosperity Two *gharis* before sunset he (Abdu's-Samad Khān) returned to his own mansion Order were issued to the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik* that he should write to Abdu's-Samad Khān that the report of his action had been received with pleasure and approbation by His Majesty; it behoves loyal and sincere friends to do likewise

On the 21st of the same month, in the same year, Rājā Ajit Singh, the *Zamindār* of Jodhpur who, since the time of the sway of 'Abdullāh Khān and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān had been holding the *ṣūbadāri* of Gujarat and of Ajmer (the abode of peace) but as the aforesaid Rājā had failed[251] to send to His Majesty the letter of solicitations, supplication and congratulation. His Majesty transferred the governmentof Gujarat from the Rājā to Haidar Quli Khān, and that of Ajmer was bestowed upon Muzaffar 'Ali Khān, the Sayyid of Daipur.

Ḥaidar Qulī Khān sent his permanent dputy to one province of Gujarat; but as Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān[252] was resourceless and in a state of distress he was sanctioned an advance of six lakh of rupees from royal exchequer to assist him in meeting his expenses. As the entire amount was not available in the treasury, it was ordered that two lakhs be given to him in cash, and the balance may be remitted to him in instalments. This was done. Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān taking with him two lakh of rupees set out for the place assigned to him, when he got out of the imperial metropolis, he became actively busy in enlisting troops, and promised to give them exhorbitant amount as their pay. Men of cavalry and infantry flocked to him in large number from all sides, and they entered into his employ. By the time he arrived at Manoharpur he had with him a force of 20,000 cavalry and much larger number of foot. The two lakhs which he had received from the government treasury was soon spent up in paying his men.

WAQĀ'I' : Rājā Ajīt Singh, the deposed Governor, being proud of and trusting to the strength and abundance of his troops, did not vacate the possession of the province of Ajmer, and kept its administration in his hands. His Majesty ordered Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān, the newly appointed Governor, to remain at Manoharpur not to advance further and wait for further instructions He was asked to do as he was to be directed. Accordingly, Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān remained for three months at Manoharpur. As the men he had enlisted were beyond calulation and as he had fixed high salaries, the expenses of paying his soldiers exceeded many lakhs. Moreover the sum of four lakhs which represented the balance out of the six lakhs, payment of which had been ordered to him in instalments, did not reach him. His soldiers began to suspect that he was in financial stringency and they were reduced to the condition of selling their arms, clothes and other properties. When even these failed, they were reduced to a state of starvation.

Meanwhile the soldiers egged on by the severity of hunger, made plundering raids, of their own accord, in the adjacent regions in different directions and collected together a large number of live stock numbering nearly 20,000 and brought them alive to the camp. As on account of the huge arrears of

of pay, the reins of control and authority had slipped out of the hands of Muzaffar 'Alī Khān, his soldiers began to talk about the distribution of the cattle among themselves. They assembled together and began to fight each other. While this turmoil and wrangling was going on and as night set in the cattle in a single dash escaped out of the camp and made off towards the countryside and reached their abodes. The quarrel and wrangling among the soldiers now stopped. At last, when the soldiers saw that the cattle which they had collected and brought with so much trouble and exertion had gone out of their hands in this way and that the *zamīndārs* would become more alert they realised that it would take long time before they would be able to lay their hands upon them again. As for Muzaffar 'Alī Khān he had become an indigent and they (the soldiers) themselves had been reduced to the extremity of starvation; so, they assembled, recited prayers for their welfare and dispersed to their homes. When Muzaffar 'Alī Khān saw this tumult he realised his utter helplessness. Eventually, the *Dīwān* of Rājā Jai Singh *Sawāī*, who according to royal orders, had accompanied him, taking a few horsemen and foot soldiers, along with his own contingent took him to Amber, his home.

W'AQĀ'I' : Due to the heavenly powers which always favour the lord of fortune, Chūra Jāt,[253] the wicked and mischievous leader of the Jāts, an account of whose refractoriness and mischievousness has been already given above, left this mortal world for the eternal one None of his relations had a son. As he died* leaving behind much property and wealth, the survivors of the deceased summoned Muhkama, son of Chūrā, handed over to him the properties of the deceased, and made him the lord and master of his *zamīndārī* and territory. Zu'l-qaran, the second son of said Chūrā, demanded from Muhkama a share in the properties of the deceased. There was prolonged dispute over the question. Muhkama, the eldest son, who had firmly installed himself in

*The text about this event appears to be loose, for the anecdote makes no sense

the place of the deceased, became ready to give battle. Zulqaran, the second son, who had picked up the quarrel also arranged his men and attacked Muhkama in his house. There ensued a tumult of the exchange of arrows and shots The senior men of the tribe conveyed the information of the conflict to Chūrā and told him that it was not proper for his two sons to fight each other and that he should come and put a stop to it. As God had so willed it the aforesaid Chūrā went to Muhkama with the intention of putting an end to the conflict. The said Muhkama abused his father and even prepared to fight with him. It so happened that the aforesaid Chūrā in sheer desperation took out the deadly poison which he always carried with him and swallowed it He then went to, and laid himself down in a garden close by, and gave up his soul to God. When a long time had elapsed, some of his men went out in search of him and they found what had happened

WAQĀ'I' : When the news of the dispersal of the troops of Muzaffar 'Alī Khān, the *Nāẓim* designated of the *Sūba* of Ajmer, was reported to His Imperial Majesty, the *ṣūbadārī* of the aforesaid *ṣūba* was transferred from Muzaffar 'Alī Khān to Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur who held a *manṣab* of 7000 *ẓāt*/7000 *suwār*. Before the new Governor could arrive there, on hearing the news, Rājā Ajīt Singh who was in the Province of Ajmer, at the head of a large army, and was taking airs, and had raised the standard of rebellion [264] sent his son to the town of Narnaul, accompanied by 12,000 men, mounted on camels, each camel carried one matchlock man and one archer. This body of troops covered with all speed a distance of 40 *kuroh* and laid seige to the said town. The deputy of Bāyazīd Khān Mewātī, the *Faujdār*, who was present there with a small number of troops came out and gave battle. But he was unable to resist, sustained a defeat and took to flight. Remaining on the mount during the whole night he came to Bāyazīd Khān in Mewāt. Those plunderes entered the town of Nārnaul, ravaged it, and seized all the wealth and property of the people. Leaving worthless things behind and taking valuables with them they rode back to their homes.

When this was reported to His Imperial Majesty, he ordered the *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik Samṣāmu'd-daulāh Amīru'l-*

umarā Bahādur (to proceed to chastise the rebel Rājā). The *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik* started preparations for the campaign. In the meanwhile, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, who was a great favourite of the Emperor, succeeded in persuading him and taking the royal artillery, also pitched his camp outside the metropolis with the object of marching against Rājā Ajīt Singh. But eventually his departure too was not deemed to be expedient or proper. Then Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, in obedience to royal orders, made preparations to march. As this nobleman too could not go, Rājā Ajīt Singh sent his troops, in the same manner, to the town of Alwar[255] Tijara and desolated it. After that the Rājā's troops pressed towards Shāhjahānpūr which was attacked and ravaged. When this was reported to His Majesty, Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān Bahādur, was directed to march speedily to chastise the Rājā and expel the accursed fellow from the *Sūba* of Ajmer. Accordingly, this nobleman enlisted a large army and pitched his camp outside the metropolis towards and on the Ajmer road. At last it was reported to His Majesty by the *harkārās* that Rājā Ajīt Singh had left[256] the *Sūba* of Ajmer, and had gone back to his homeland and *zamīndāri*

WAQĀ'I' : A band of Afghans belonging to the Rohilla tribe, numbering nearly 20,000 horse and foot had assembled in the neighbourhood of Bans[257] Bareilly and Sambhal Murādābād, and had committed oppressions and inflicted injury upon the inhabitants of those places. They indulged in highway robbery on the main roads, plundered goods and properties of all the travellers and wayfarers on the way, and seized and usurped the *zamindāris* of respectable and even poorer section Those of the *zamindārs* of that region who turned towards and submitted to them upset the affairs of the others. On account of the tumult and turmoil raised by those malefactors peace and order had disappeared, and the authority and contact of the *faujdārs* and the agents (*gumāshta hāi*') of the *jāgirdārs* of those districts had been upset. The royal revenue suffered great loss, and paths and roads, highways and byways, were completely closed.

When the tyranny of these men had reached its hight and the oppression increased exceedingly, 'Aẓmatullāh Khān,[258] the *Faujdār* of Murādābād, and deputy of *I'timādu'd-daulāh*

Qamaru'd-dīn Bahādur, who was a good soldier and a man of spirit and courage assembled a suitable force, and allying with himself the *Faujdār* of Bareilly, delivered an assault on the insurgents. As these accursed people, were full of pride and confided too much in the strength and size of their army, they came out of their homes and marched to a distance of two *kuroh* and commenced action with arrows and muskets. The veterans of Islām exerted themselves to the utmost in every quarter and direction and running short of ammunition (*ba aslaha kotāh āmad*) engaged fighting, for two full *gharis*, with swords and daggers. During this battle and conflict many men of the army of Islām attained martyrdom and fell fighting bravely in the field of battle. When only a few men were left with 'Azmatullāh Khān he with his sons, relatives, brothers, brother's sons, leaped off from the elephants and horses and began to fight with great intrepedity on foot. By the grace of God and the assistance of the Eternal the Most High, nearly four to five thousands of the mischief mongers fell under the unsparing and remorseless swords of the warriors and were dispatched to hell. The others were, ruthlessly pursued. The survivors marched towards the river and took to flight. When they reached the bank and found no boats there, for the aforesaid Khān had previously scattered the boats in different directions, they jumped into the stream and hurried to the infernal region beneath the earth. The army of Islām gained a great victory, and peace and order were again restored in these districts.

WAQĀ'I' : News came to His Majesty through the reports and the accounts of the *waqā' i'* of the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād that Nīl Kanth Nāgar the deputy of the pillar of the State, Sa'ādat Khān,[259] the *Nāzim* of that *Sūba*, had gone with a force of 10,000 horses, and a larger number of foot to that side for the purpose of looking after the affairs of that part of the province. On the 5th *Zul-hijja*, year 3 of accession he raided a village out of the villages of that district belonging of the *zamīndāri* of the sons of late Chūrā Jāt, seized many a man, and a considerable number of cattle He was about to return when Muhkam Singh, son of the mischievous Chūrā, surrounded him with a force of five to six thousands of horse and foot and killed him along with his force. When the action commenced Nīl

Kanth,[260] was accidently hit by a cannon ball, and died in the litter (*haudāh*) of his elephant. Those of his followers who could find an opportunity of doing so ran away; and the rest having surrendered their horses and arms to some evil-natured Jāts, became captives in the claws of those malevolant people. Muhkam Singh having seized all the elephants and the other belongings, as mentioned above, and having captured the soldiers retreated with his captives to his home. He realised ransom from the captives, each paying according to his resources. As the above-mentioned Sa'ādat Khān happened to be at that time at the Court, on the order of the Emperor he speedily marched to his province. When the said Khān arrived there, Badan Singh,[261] brother's son of Chūrā came and waited upon him The aforesaid Khān deeming it to be expedient gave him a robe of honour and an elephant and thus won him over to his side and attached him to himself

WAQ'Ā'I' In the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād there occurred an earthquake[262] with very loud rumbling and violent shaking The tremors were felt repeatedly both by day and by night. (It produced) a sound as if carts and chariots were rolling over a floor of stones and bricks. Buildings trembled and shook to their very foundation. In sheer fright men came out of their very houses and stood on the road The shock would sometimes last for a while and sometimes for one quarter of a *ghari* (about 6 minutes) and then it would subside. Tremors continued for twelve days in succession, two to three time each day The people were much alarmed and upset Owing to the frequency and intensity of shocks, mansions and other edifices in the metropolis were cracked and destroyed. His Majesty issued orders that the *Qāzis* (Judges), the *Muftis* (expounders of law), the *Muhtasibs* (censors of morals), the *Sadru's-sudūr* (the lord chancellor or chief justice) and other pious and learned men should assemble in the *Jāmi' masjid* and offer prayers[263] for safety. This was done. Mir Jumla Bahādur and the chief *Qāzi*, Wajihu'd-din Khān, went every day to *Jāmi' Masjid*, accompanied by many pious and learned men, recited the *namāz* (divine service), and offered prayers for welfare.

WAQĀ'I' : Ja'far Khān son of Murshid Qulī Khān, *Nāẓim* of *Sūba* Bengal had sent to the Court under the charge of Khān-i-zamāh Khān, the deposed *Nāẓim* of Patna, one crore[264] and eighty lakhs of rupees on account of the revenues (*khizāna*) of the *Ṣūba* When the abovementiond treasures reached Akbarābād His Majesty, the shadow of God, directed all the great *Bakhshis*, that they should select detachment with a commander from their respective armies to escort the treasure, from whatever place it might have arrived, to the Court, observing utmost care and caution. The chief *Bakhshi Samṣāmu'd-daulāh Khān-i-daurān Amīru'l-umarā* Bahādur *Manṣūr Jang* deputed Sanjar Khān, *Manṣabdār* of 4,000 *zāt*/ 2,000 *suwār* with 2,000 *suwār mansabdār* from His Majesty's army for this duty. He also gave him, an elephant carrying the standard and two camels with *qaimchibān* (rocket tripot) to accompany him and gave him leave to go. *Raushanu'd-daulāh alias* Zafar Khān Bahādur, the second *Bakhshi*, also deputed his brother *Fakhru'd-daulāh alias* Fakhru'd-dīn Khān, with 2,000 *suwār* for the same purpose I'timādu'd-daulāh, the third *Bakhshi* also sent Irādatmand Khān, a *Tūrānī* Mughal, with 2,000 Mughalia horsemen The fourth *Bakhshi* also sent a similar contingent. Thus all these officers went upto *Sarāi* Jahanabad, leaving (conducting?) the treasures on the highway of the right hand side brought it to the bank of the Jamuna and submitted it to His Majesty All of them were presented to His Majesty who granted them dresses of honour and bestowed other favours upon them according to their respective rank and position

WAQĀ'I' : As the disturbances and rebellion of Rājā Ajit Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Jodhpur and of Mohkama and the other sons of Chūrā Jāt notwithstanding His Majesty's definite orders could not be subdued by any of the great nobles, disorders and misgovernment became rampant in the country This displeased His Majesty and he sent for Miẓāmu'l-mulk. the *Nāẓim* of the *Deccani ṣūbās* and Gridhar Lāl Bahādur, the Sūbādār of Awadh, and issued to them the imperial orders obeyed by all the world (*farāmīn-i-muṭā'*).

The details of the lofty *farmān* addressed to the Nizāmu'l-mulk ran :

Of holy and noble rank, of the stature of power and dignity, the refuge of the learned and able, the support of benevolence and generosity, concentration (*jami'*) of external and internal virtues, accumulation (*majma'*) of the qualities of head and cognisant of gratitude, the foundation of reality, conversant with society, the target and center of the peoples request, the pillar of State, the strength of *Khilāfat*, the connosseur (*nukta sanj*) of official records, explorer of the papers of the people of the household, acquainted with the pulse of the private chamber, familiar with the secrets of special matters, champion of the field of gallantry, conqueror of the armies of valour, the most excellent among the high grandeer, the chosen of the high ranking devotees, expert in the art of administration, the focal point of the circle of honesty and religosity, the approved of the threshold, the recipient of the favours of the Court lord of the sword and pen, master of standards and knowledge, loyal friend, light of the world,[265] *Sipāh Salār* Niẓāmu'l-mulk Bahādur, let him remain hopeful of favours and generosity The efforts and exertations put froth by Your Highness for punishing and chastising the disloyal and faithless rebels of evil intentions in the Deccan will remain fully imprinted on our gracious heart for all time and in all conditions. How good and excellent was the high-minded design and keen desire of Your Highness of doubtless courage that in destroying that band of rebels you did not agree to anything that was short of what was demanded by loyality and fidelity In protecting the foundations of the firm and true faith Your Highness has undergone many hardships. By God and again by God what has been achieved by the sincere exertions put in controlling and establishing order and authority and in punishing and chastising the refractory malcontents of that country by Your Highness, the object of grace and favours of the Almighty God, could not have been possibly achieved by any other All this good government and administration of those regions is entirely due to Your Highness's excellent personality and prowess. We shall be ever grateful to the incomparable Supreme Being. And the ne.d of compensating and acknowledging the good services rendered by Your Highness, the choicest of the sincere ones, would always remain in our gracious heart

As during these times Ajīt Singh, the *Zamindār* of Jodhpur, who since the ascendancy of 'Abdullāh and Ḥusain 'Alī had held the *ṣūbadārī* of Ajmer and whose removal from that place had been postponed due to the exigency of the situation for a suitable occasion had raised the standard of revolt and sent a large force against the town of Narnaul, dishonoured and disgraced the respectable men of that locality in a variety of ways. And as, owing to the connivance and incapacity of certain faithless wretches, untrue to the salt taken by them, all of this insolence and misbehaviour the fellow went ahead, attacked and plundered the town of Shājahānpūr which was inhabited by respectable and wealthy people (*shurafā' wa mahājanān*) As again no attention was shown or action taken to punish and exterminate him he attacked and ravaged Alwar Tijara in the same manner.

Similarly Muhkam Singh and Zul-qaran and other sons of the hellish Chūrā, collected a large force and indulged in robbing and plundering the highway and the villages and the towns. They attacked and destroyed Nīl Kantha, the deputy of Sa'ādat Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *ṣūba* of Akbarābād, who was encamped with a force of 10.000 horse in that district, and seized all of his goods and properties Moreover, they have begun to collect and exact the revenues of the *maḥāls* in the *Khāliṣa sharīfa* and from those belonging to the *jāgīrdārs*, and they are robbing and plundering all the wayfarers and travellers

It is our heart-felt desire that, as Your Highness of noble lineage and dignifield position have settled the affairs of the Deccan and punished the mischievous people of that region to utmost satisfaction; Your Highness should in like manner, accomplish the extirpation of these malcontents and afford protection to the highways and by-ways as well as the villages, the towns and the cities in this region so that the assertion of our authority and government might be made in the way as it should be.

From the commecement of our accession till now which is the fourth[266] year of the reign, the affairs of the State were conducted first by the late *I'timādu'd-daulāh* Muhammad Amīn Khan, and after his death till now, 'Ināyatullāh Khān has been

managing the business as the Deputy *Wazir*. But as there is no wise and prudent *Wazir* like you, the chosen of God, our subjects have suffered much from chaos and confusion and the country has been subjected to mismanagement and suffer from want of order and government. As the king of holy nature and wise *Wazirs* are appointed and exalted solely for the purpose of maintaining order and authority in the country and ensuring peace and comfort of God's creatures, our royal mind is constantly disturbed on account of the mismanagement of the affairs of the imperial countries

Accordingly, it is being written to Your Highness that you, protector of the State, after appointing deputy to manage the affairs there, and posting *faujdārs* and *thānadārs* and (*'Ummāl*) in every *mahāl* hasten with a respectable force towards this direction You should lose no time in coming and joining us Although the whole time of Your Highness is devoted to single-minded devotion and service of God, and your temperament is and will be indifferent to these (mundane) affairs, and though it has been held that the removal of anxiety and restoration of peace to our benevolent heart and satisfaction of the people who are the best and rarest of God's creatures is not better than the service of God, but as the pleasure of our heart, which is repository of Divinity, is in favour of that illustrious being who is gifted with good qualities, in parts and in full, therefore, in these circumstances let him without any hesitation or delay come to the Court and make us happy with his presence.

When the exalted *farman* which had been sent through the mace-bearers reached Aurangābād, the seat of prosperity, it was received by Niẓāmu'l-mulk with great respect and reverence after the usual ceremony of salutation and obeisance. In reply he forwarded an *'arẓdāsht*, and leaving 'Iwaz Khān[267] one of his followers who was a *Manṣabdār* of 4,000 *zāt*/3,000 *suwār* with large force as his deputy in the Deccan, he set out towards Hindustan The contents of Niẓām's *'arẓdāsht* are .

The humblest of all, the devoted Niẓāmu'l-mulk, after performing the ceremonial rites of salutation and obeisance and rubbing his forehead of supplication and servitude on the ground of submission begs to convey through those who are nearest to

the dignified and illustrious threshold and gather falicity from sky-resembling Court, that the arrival of the exalted *farman* the symbol of benevolence and of the irresistibility of fate, which was issued to this humble slave of your Majesty has become a source of honour and dignity to this devotee. Your Majesty's devoted slave received it with due respect and obeisance, and placed it on the crown of his head. Your Majesty's royal letter contained observations upon the devotion and faithfulness of your Majesty's old servant and expressions of Your Majesty's good opinion and favourable judgement in the way in which the villains of the Deccan were punished; it referred to the disturbances created by Ajit Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Jodhpur, and the sons of Chūrā Jāt; it alluded also to the unsettled and disordered conditions in which His Majesty's affairs have fallen; and finally it directed this insignificant person to proceed to the enlightened presence.

May the lord of the world and universe live long! Your Majesty is well aware of humility and devotion of this lowly person who is no more than an atom What good can come out of this weak and wealthless (*Juzw-i-za'if*) person? Whatever good has emerged out of the efforts and exertions of this humble and insignificant persons and resulted in the accomplishment of certain objectives was solely due to the unfading fortune of Your Imperial Majesty. Every particle that the lord of the Universe picks up from the dust becomes as exalted as the Sun, and every ant which has a connection with Your Majesty can boast of being a tiger. The punishment and chastisement of the faithless ones, untrue to the salt they had taken for every limb of their bodies was saturated with the salt of Your Majesty's (grace and favours) and nemesis was following them in their wake, it was automatic and incrdible by the grace of God and the good fortune of Your Majesty and that the salt was avenged. Whatever distinction this humbleself has acquired among his peers in the imperial service excels everything else. It is beyond my power to express my gratitude. May the Almighty God ever preserve the honour of this devoted slave, ready to sacrifice his life for His Majesty's cause, in the Court of Your Majesty.

The disturbance raised by Ajīt Singh and the sons of Chūrā Jāt is no more than the flames of hay. It can be suppressed only with a little of Your Majesty's miracle-working attention to it. As regards the matters relating to your illustrious Majesty, in view of the fact Your Majesty has made up Your mind in setting them right, they would be properly brought under control through the grace of God and the prestige of Your Majesty As the Deccan is always subject to the disturbances raised by the enemy, particularly at this moment, when Your Majesty's humble servant after inflicting a sort of chastisement upon that band of robbers, had reduced the number of troops and had retired to Aurangābād the seat of prosperity, he did not deem it proper to leave his post But as there was much insistence by His Majesty he did not put forth any excuse and having appointed 'Iwaz Khān in his place with 20 000 horse and an equal number of foot and after deputing competent *faujdārs* in this region, he has set out in obedience to Your Majesty's orders for the celestial threshold. This humble-self would carry out to the best of his ability, Your Majesty's wishes and orders To pen more would be beyond the requirements of etiquette

WAQĀ'I', Rājā Ajīt Singh the *Zamīndār* of Jodhpur, overawed by the approach of the pillar of the Empire Nizamu'l-mulk submitted an *'arzdāsht* couched in submissive prayers and supplications (or with gifts/*ba niyāz wa nisār*) It was laid before His Majesty It ran as follows :— The humblest of the devoted ones Ajīt Singh after observing the rites of salutation and obeisance, begs to submit through those who stand at the foot of the imperial throne that Your Majesty is well aware of the prejudices and feelings of enmity and hostility which my equals of bad intentions bear towards me of weak and frail foundations In the beginning of the reign of the late martyred Sovereign they unjustly and without any cause heaped calumnies on this devoted one, ever ready to sacrifice his life and they poisoned His Majesty's mind against this slave of firm devotion They had Husain 'Alī Khān appointed with a large army to attack the territories of this humble servant In reality as he did not behave in any action contrary to His Majesty's wishes by the grace of God,

those vile men became the objects of shame and disgrace. The devotion and traditional loyalty of this faithful slave in respect of the (Mughal) Emperors is confirmed and proved, and needs no expression and submission. When the commotion concerning Husain 'Alī Khān's affairs arose, this devoted servant, out of his sincere loyalty and clear intentions, repeatedly[268] summitted to those who were admitted to the celestial threshold that all that was taking place was full of deceit and treachery, that His Majesty should be cautious and be on guard against it and that he should come out of the fort and pitch his camp outside that when this loyal slave, ever ready to sacrifice his life, would be in attendance on His Majesty's stirrups, nobody would dare or would have the power (to harm him). As fate so willed it, the submissions of this humble and insignificant person were not heeded, and found no acceptance When the whole affair had gone beyond limit, the devoted slave saw no use in proceeding further

Afterward, when serious differences came to the fore among the leaders this humble-self in conformity with his traditional practice, intervened and effected the compromise As the *Sūbas* of Ahmadābād and Ajmer were at that time offered to this humble-self, who realizing that the properties of the masters are always guarded by his slaves, accepted the assignment. Having assumed the charge he made the rites and customs of Islām duly current in the two provinces and put the laws of faith (*Ahakām-i-Shara'*) into practice in the way as it should have been [269] When everything had turned out according to the wishes of this old supplicant, and victory and conquest had fallen to the lot of the nobles and ministers of the State, and it was ordered that the *Sūba* of Ahmadābād be made over to Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, he (the Rājā) immediately handed over the charge to the said Khān Subsequently, when the *Sūba* of Ajmer was assigned to Muzaffar 'Alī Khān, this humble-self issued preemptory orders to his men to deliver the charge of the same immediately on the arrival of that noble there. But as the aforesaid Khān did not come, the matter remained suspended. His critics and traducers finding no other alternative, taking advantage of the outbreak of the

Mewātis in the towns of Narnaul, Shāhjahānpūr and Alwar Tijara placed the blame (for those disturbances) on this devoted one and cast aspersion on his character. Their real purpose was that on this pretext a campaign might be opened against this humble-self, and subsequently intervening themselves, they could bring about exchange of favours and regards which had in the past been shown to this poor-self. But as the vestibule of Your Majesty is a place of truth and also because it was not the will of God, they could not have their way. He hopes that the question of his guilt or innocence would be duly enquired into by His Majesty's equitable and upright sense of discrimination, and if the charges against him relating to the affair of Narnaul, Shāhjahānpūr and Alwar Tijara were proved even to the slightest bit, he would be willing to suffer a punishment that might be decided upon. But if the charges against him prove unfounded the accusers be called upon to explain their conduct in the Court. If so desired this humble self-would readily proceed to the Court and gather falicity there On the other hand, if it is Your Majesty's will that he should remain in his territory (*maḥāl-i-watan wa Zamīndāri*) he would remain constantly occupied in offering up prayer for the welfare and perpetuity of Your Majesty's Empire Whatever be Your Majesty's pleasure he would deem himself honoured by obeying the same. But it is the earnest request of this humble slave that the words of the designing men spoken against him, the supplicant, be not listened to or accepted

The exalted *farmān* issued in reply to Ajit Singh's *'arẓdāsht* was as follows :—The support of strength and dignity, the prop of valour and courage, worthy of benevolence and kindness, the object of boundless generosities, the most excellent of the *Rājas* of Hindustan, the chosen of the exalted loyal friends, Rājā Ajīt Singh, may he be the recipient of the graces of All-Merciful God ! The *'arẓdāsht* comprising expressions and proofs of fidelity and devotion which he had submitted has been laid before us and has been duly perused. The attachment and intimacy that you of exalted status, bear to us is well-known and has been varified and confirmed. As regards the taking of Government of the *Ṣūbas* of Ahmadābād

and Ajmer from your illustrious Highnesss' hands (it) was due to Divine will which cast its shadow and our kingship is expressive of that. That this was so is quite apparent from what came into manifestation and provided a clear proof of the fact that whatever happens, it happens by the orders and the will of God As the saying goes, "the favourable year is known by its spring."

The transfer from the Government of the two *Sūbas* was decided upon due to the exigency of the situation and the urgent necessity of the time. But now the Government and administration of the *Sūba* of Ajmer, the land of peace, is being entrusted to you[270] as before, and a dress of honour, a ornamented *jigha* a horse, an elephant are being sent, herewith, to you. It behoves you to conduct the Government and administration of the place with perfect peace of mind. You should be hopeful, God willing, soon the *Sūba* of Ahmadābād will also be entrusted to you of dauntless stature. It is impossible that any words spoken against you by anyone would be attended to or accepted. Be at rest in your mind, and consider this well-wishers of mankind attentive and favourable to your state of affairs.

WAQĀ'I' : When Niẓāmu'l-mulk, in obedience to His Majesty's command, set out[271] for the Court, Durjan Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Chanderi, waited upon him enroute, and presented an elephant and 1,000 rupees Niẓāmu'l-mulk asked him to accompany him with all the troops he had with him Rāja Udit Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Aundhcha (orchha?), also met Niẓāmu'l-mulk with his followers and presented 1,000 *ashrafīs* and 2 horses. Niẓāmu'l-mulk took him also with himself. Rāo Rāmchand, son of Rāo Dalpat Bundela, also joined him. Rājā Chatra Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Narwar also became friendly with him and offered his services. After completing his journey when Niẓāmu'l-mulk arrived at Akbarābād on the 29th of *Rabi'u'l-awwal* [272] year 4 of accession, and Sa'ādat Khān, the *Nāẓim* of the *Sūba*, hastened to accord reception to him and invited him to a banquet. On the 1st of *Rabī'u'l ākhar*, 4th regnal year, Niẓāmu'l-mulk went to the residence of Sa'ādat Khān who presented him two elephants, five horses of Arabian and 'Irāqī breed with

elaborate trappings, nine trays of cloth and two trays of jewels. Niẓāmu'l-mulk accepted one elephant, one horse, and a few pieces (*thān*) of cloth and an embroidered dagger, and returned the rest The same day he left Akbarābād and halted at Gaoghāt Marching thence he continued his journey along the bank of the Jamuna, and arrived at Bārapula on the 11th of *Rabi'u'l-ākhar* year 4th of the reign, and encamped there When his arrival was reported to His Majesty, directions were issued to *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik* to escort him to the Court. Accordingly, *Bakhshi'u'l-mamālik Samṣamu'd-daulāh* Khān-i-daurān Bahādur rode out with a large number of the nobles and *mansabdārs* and met him and escorted him to the Court Niẓāmu'l-mulk presented two elephants five horses and 1000 *ashrafis* He was granted a robe of honour, a golden bow and an elephant He then rendered his obeisance and submission

W'AQ.I'I' On the 5th of the month of *Jumada I* year 4 of accession corresponding to 1134[273] *A.H.* orders were issued for making arrangements for the holding of the *Diwān-i-'ām*. It was specially directed that Nizāmu'l-mulk, *I'timādu'd-daulāh Mu'izzu'd-daulāh*, and *Bakhshiu'l-mamālik Samṣāmu'd-daulāh*, *Yamīnu'd-daulāh*, *Fakhru'd-daulāh* and other noble grandees and high *mansabdārs* be present there. Accordingly, all the above-mentioned personages presented themselves His Great Majesty, powerful and absolute as Solomon,[274] and magnificent as Farīdūn, glorious as Jamshed, Muhammad Shāh, may God preserve his crown and kingdom, emerged out of the inner appartment of the Palace, entered the hall of audience, and seated himself on the royal throne. His Majesty was gracious enough to confer on Nizāmu'l-mulk a special robe of honour of six pieces of cloths a girdle, ring, jewelled pen case worth one lakh of rupees, and a (dress called) *chahārqab* (a garment peculiar to the kings of Turan) and appointed him to the office of the *Wizārat*. Niẓāmu'l-mulk performed his salutation and obeisance, and then, in accordance with His Majesty's command, went to the office chamber (*kachehrī*) and began to transact the affairs of the State The date on which he assumed the *Wizārat* office came out as "*Ziyāh Nizāmu'l mulk*", i e., excellent Niẓāmu l-mulk".

WAQĀ'I' : In view of the fact that before the war there was excessive grant of *manṣabs* as well as of the *tankhwāh jāgirs*, which were formerly held by the princes, princesses, *Begams* and *Sulṭāns* and had (subsequantly) been granted to grand *amirs*, high ranking *manṣabdārs*, and famous *Rājas*, and the services in the *ṣūbas-maḥāls* and *sir* land had considerably increased, the income of the treasury had fallen, and the pay bill (*talab*) of the imperial servants receiving their salary in cash had increased, *Jumlatu'l-mulk*, *Madāru'l-mahāmm*, Nizāmu'l-mulk after due investigation and scrutiny of records suggested[275] to His Imperial Majesty that as the regulations of the time of *Khuld Makān* (Aurangzeb) were conducive to the welfare of the people and to the orderly running of administration they should be enforced in the Empire in the same way as they were enforced in the time of the *Khuld Makān*. The proposal was accepted.

Khannan,[276] a beef-butcher by profession better known as Khān Muhammad, who was in the service of Kokā Khān,[277] the foster-brother of His Imperial Mejesty the shadow of God, and was a resident of the metropolis of Shāhjahānābād, and had a large following of his own, committed theft and abetted thieves. As in the capital, the houses of *manṣabdārs* and moneylenders (*mahājanān*) were frequently and repeatedly burgled and goods and property were abundantly plundered and many men were killed or wounded, the matter was reported to His Majesty and many complaints were brought to his august notice. Peremptory orders, were issued from the Court of His Majesty that the thieves and abettors of thieves should be seized along with the stolen properties, which should be restored to the petitioners so as to redress their grievance.

The *Kotwāl* of the city, after thorough enquiries and investigations, reported to His Majesty an account of the aforesaid Khannan and submitted that he was in the service of Kokā Khān; that he was robust person of powerful build; he was well versed in the art of fancing with daggers and cultass (*bānk-patta*) he was unique in wrestling and soldiership that he was a confirmed robber and an abettor of robbers; that it had been definitely established that a great many of people were his associates and accomplices and partners in activity. The

Kotwāl gave a solemn undertaking (*muchalka*) that if his report turned out to be false, he should be deemed to be guilty.

One day, the said Khannan came with Kokā Khān in the fort, and when the spies and informers reported it to His Majesty, he ordered that he be arrested by the servants (*Qūlān i.e. Qulchis*). The aforesaid Khannan, getting scent of it, marched off hoping that he would be able to get out and escape. But the *Qūlāns* (servants) rushed upon and surrounded him. At last, after they had confounded and paralysed him by throwing stones and brick-bats on him, they arrested him. When he was taken to His Majesty, orders were issued that he should be confined in the *Chabūtra-i-kotwālī* and this was done. After the *Kotwāl* had beaten and flogged him severely, an amount of 20,000 rupees in cash, and other stolen goods were recovered from his house. He confessed that a man named Muhammad Ghaus was one of his co-workers and partner, He, too, was arrested and brought. He turned out to be one of the King's servants holding a rank of 500 and a select *Jāgir*. He also made a confession and gave clues to a good deal of stolen property. In this way many others unsuspectable persons who were thieves or abettors of thieves were exposed, and arrested.

When the above mentioned Khannan perceived that there was no hope of his life and thought that His Majesty was very fond of shows[278] (*tamāsha*) he sent a petition through the superintedent (*Dārogha*) of the prison saying that he fights with tigers, and that there was a tiger in His Majesty's possession. It be so ordered, that he be left alone with the tiger to fight it. If the tiger killed him so far so good but if he killed the tiger, his life be spared. When the *Dārogha* (Superintendent) reported this to His Majesty he agreed to it. It was ordered that a fencing (*bāṛa*) should be set up under the lattice window (*Jharoka*) of the fort-wall and Khannan, the thief, and the tiger should be thrown in the enclosure and made to fight. As the excellent one of the State, the centre of affairs, Nizāmu'l-mulk was a man of merciful disposition, he thought that to put to death a man was equivalent to the destruction of the image of God. When he learnt about the matters he made his submissions to His Majesty and observed that Khannan, the thief, was guilty of many crimes and he can

provide clues about the properties of men and that at the moment only a part of cash has been recovered from him and a major portion of the stolen property has yet to be recovered. Therefore, it is not expedient to kill him or to release him from prison and leave him to himself. The fight with the tiger should, therefore, be postponed.[279] It was accepted.

WAQĀ'I' : On the 2nd of *Rajab* in a year 1134.[280] *A.H.* Quraish Khān who belonged to the family of the Shaikhzādās of the East and who, in the time of His late martyred-Majesty, Farrukhsiyar, had held the office of the *Chakla-dār* of Kora Jahānābād had a *manṣab* of 2.000 *zāt*/1,000 *suwār*, and was known to be a good soldier, came to Court on the recommendation of *I'timādu'd-daulāh* alias Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, the second *Bakhshi* and had the honour of being admitted to the audience of His Majesty. He was raised to the rank of 4.000 *zāt*/2,000 *suwār*. The above mentioned Khān took on rent the mansion of a man in Shāhjahānābād, situated on a street (*guzar*) in Begampura and started residing there with his family and dependants. Accidently a dispute arose about the rent between a man of the said Khān and the owner of the house. An eunuch who lived next door, took up the cause of the owner and began to wrangle with the men of the aforesaid Khān. As chance would have it, in the wrangling, the eunuch was slightly wounded by the men of the aforesaid Khān. The eunuch who had some connection with the eunuchs of the Palace went and lodged a complaint, and brought with him one of the king's servants (*qūl*). When the above mentioned *qūl* and the complainant came to Quraish Khan, although the latter explained to them the real situation but neither of them was convinced. And they exaggerated the affair ten times. Orders were issued that Khān-i-zamān the superintendent of the royal artillery should go and bring the Khān and if he resisted he should be chastised. Accordingly Khān-i-zamān deputed the *hazāris* with a number of troops for this purpose. The *hazāris* in a body surrounded the mansion of the aforesaid Khān When the latter perceived that this honour was at stake he drew his sword and began to fight. Eventually, the *hazāris* fired on the Khān

from all sides, and killed him. Then they severed his head from his body laid it before His Majesty.

Colophon. I have recorded these particulars (*kaifiyāt*) till the 4th year of the blessed reign of His Majesty, God-knowing, Emperor Muhammad Shāh *Ghazi*, may God perpetuate his dominion and sovereignty, as a souvenir and have brought the *Shāhnāmā Munawwar Kalām* to a close so that it may be worthy of rememberance, (and) at the time of reading people may remember

Dated 22 *Zul-qada*, year 4 of the *Julūs* ..*Khan *Hamrāhī-i-Imārat-o-Iyālat Panāh Nawwāb* Sanjar Khan.... .

*The last line beginning with 'Khan' is not there in the printed text.

Foot Notes

1. This exordium, headed by the use of the Muslim formula of *b'ismillah*, is not inconsistent with the religious views and faith of the Hindu author. Very little, however, is known about him, for, none of the contemporary writers has mentioned about him. But the fact is that he was a contemporary writer and a *Munshi*, for long in the services of the great. What he has recorded is based either on his personal knowledge or on information which he received from trustworthy courtiers.
2. Those who emphasise the instructive value of history can not but appreciate the hint that the author had a moralizing aim in view. Perhaps he hoped that the recapitulation of bare facts relating to the faction-ridden Court and the activities of the designing nobles and provincial governors might serve as a warning and lessons to others
3. *Dar kasb-i-inshā wa ikhtiyār-i-kārhā guzrānida* (In acquiring proficiency in the act of elegant writing and in discharging various duties). Historical works and chronicles of political events are generally devoid of what is personal but the reader expects to know something about the author's *bonafides* and his sources in the short introduction with which the text is prefaced Our author says little or nothing about them, nor does he give the table of contents which some works of his contemporaries contain. We do not know what the duties, works, or offices referred to here were.
4. Farrukhsiyar was the second son of 'Azimu'sh-Shān. He came to Patna from Rājmahal in June, 1711. At

first he had coins struck in the name of his father, but afterwards proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna on 6 March, 1712. Farrukhsiyar had ordered that his reign should be dated from 1st *Rabi'* II, 1123 *A.H.* (8 April A.D. 1711) cancelling the 10 months 25 days rule of Jahāndār Shah as an adverse possession (*M L.*). See also *L M.* I, pp. 198 ff for biographical and other details.

5. See *L,M* I, pp 201 ff for an account of the Sayyids of Bārha; also *M.U* for short biographical sketches of the two king-makers. The author of *B.M.* writes that after the return of Bahādur Shāh from the Deccan, his most influential son, 'Azīmu'sh-Shān in whom was vested the Government of Allahābād, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa appointed 'Abdullāh Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, sons of Sayyid Miyān or 'Abdullāh Khān I, his deputies in Allahābād and Bihar respectively, in reward for the services that they had rendered in the battle of Jajau (1707) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān served as the Governor of Bihar from 1708 to 1712. In his absence in Delhi and the Deccan the Government of Bihar remained under his sister's son, Sayyid Ghairat Khān, till he was replaced by Mīr Jumla in 1715

6. The two brothers were also allowed to govern Multan and Bihar through their deputies

   Khāfī Khān, while condemning the king-makers for what they did to the late *Shahid* (martyr) King, and also for some other bad qualities in them, testifies to their liberality, love for justice, and leniency towards all mankind. He says that Husain 'Alī Khān deemed himself to superior in military affairs to his brother. This is confirmed by the author of *B.M.*

7. A Samarqandī Tūrānī. He had been a *Qāzī* of Dacca and later of Patna; became a favourite of 'Azīmu'sh-Shan, after whose death he came back to Patna and joined Farrukhsiyar. See *M.U.* III, p. 711 and also *L M.* I, pp 267-8, for life

8. A detailed account of his career see *JASB*, Vol. IX (1908), pp.511-88 and also *Medieval India, A Miscellany*, I, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 134-232.
9. A rare work in Arabic, *Mu'zilat-i-Ibn-i-'Araābī*, discussing the doctrines of *waḥdatu'l-wujūd* (pantheism) written by Amānullāh, son of Munīrullāh of Phulwārī Sharif Patna (Bihar) was dedicated to him.
10 *L.M.* I, 215, II 6-8.
11. Fought at Jajau, 1707, and in the battle of Farrukhsiyar, 1712, and of Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān against Dāwud Khān Pannī, September 6, 1715; served as *Darogha* of Artillery in the Deccan under Husain 'Alī Khān; but later on joined the Emperor; held the *faujdāri* of Lacknow and the governship of Agra; went back to the Sayyid Brothers, and fought against the imperialists at Hasanpur in November 1720; died in the 11 year of Muhammad Shāh's reign *A H.* 1140-41 (1728 A.D.)
12. *M.U., L.M.* II See *J.A.S.B.* 1878, pp. 49-170, for a detailed account.
13. *In Risāla-i-Āfrīdī* by Qāsim 'Alī Qādirī, there is reference to a colony of the Āfrīdī Pathāns of Sultān Khail in Kolhar near Malihābād, 7 *kos* to the west of Lacknow. Dilāwar 'Ālī Khān, one of the three sons of Fath 'Alī Khān, a brother of Miyān Khān Āfrīdī, was a member of a group of warriors known as *Pach Bhaiyā*. Sridhar *alias* Murlidhar refers in his Hindi Poem, *Jangnāma*, to one Dilāwar Khān "*Sajiyo Dilāwar Khān Diler Jahān*" (See my article 'Jang Nama' in the Urdu Monthly *Ma'āṣir*, Patna April-September 1942).
14. *The text says, ba manṣab du hazāri wa pānṣadī zāt du ṣad suwār mansabdār-i-rutbat ḥāṣil namūd. Barāwardī*, derived from *barāward*, meaning birth (*barāwardī*) estimate, accounts. It denoted certain 'empty-handed but deserving' persons to whom assignments were made prior to the actual verification of their contingent and *dāgh* (For a detailed discussion see, Irfan Habib's article, 'The Mansab System, 1595-1637' *.I.H.C.* Procs. Vol. 29. pt. I. pp. 221-42.

15. Strangely enough the Brajbhāshā poet, Murlidhar *alias* Sridhar, who has given a long catalogue of those who fought for Farrukhsiyar makes no mention of either Sanāullāh Khān or Khalīl Khān or Jalīl Khan of Lacknow. The author of *T.S.C.* refers to one Sanāullāh Khān, son Ẓiāullān Khān

16 Some copies of the present work and also the rare copy of *Iqbālnāma* (Rampur M S), which has largely copied from the work of Shiv Dās all about Farrukhsiyar's reign, and upto the 4th regnal year of Muhammad Shāh, gives a different name Jalāl Khān Bāyazīd Malīhābādī. Jalāl Khān of Malīhābād was the veteran who had fought and killed Munawwar Khān, the brother of Khān-i-'Ālam Dakhnī in the battle of Jajau, on 17th June, 1707

17 Except misplaced liberality, Farrukhsiyar did not possess the virtues attributed to him For a different estimate of his career see *CHI* Vol IV pp 332-3

18 Ḥusain 'Alī Khān left Delhi on 6th January, 1714. Marched to Ajmer, and then to Merta, the gateway of Mewar Ajit fled to the deserts of Bikāner but had to make an abject surrender. He had to send his son Abhai Singh, to attend the Court, agreed to serve with Emperor's army and sent 50 lakh in cash, besides Arab horses and elephants

19. A daughter given in marriage to a superior by way of tribute She ranked below the wives of families of equal rank

20 The scholarly poet *Maulānā* 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī wrote a beautiful *masnawī* giving a graphic account of the royal marriage.

21. This appears to be a highly exaggerated and wrong figure. Kāmwar Khān fixes the figure of *kābin* or marriage portion of *Bai* Indra Kaur at one lakh *asharafīs*. On the occasion of Muhammad Shāh's marriage with Farukhsiyar's daughter, Malika-i-Zamānī, dower was fixed on at 20.000 rupees only (*T S C*)

22. *Raushanu'd-daulah* Ẓafar Khān *Rustam Jang* called *Ṭurrabāz* (as he wore plume feathers in his turban), originally Khawāja Muzaffar, was a *Naqshbandī Shaikhzāda* of Panipat, and a disciple of Shaikh Bhīkha; entered the service of Bahādur Shāh who as *Faujdār* of Narnaul; made him *Qūr Begi* or head of the armoury; changed sides after the murder of Farrukhsiyar; reached the height of power and wealth under Muhammad Shāh because of his partnership in peculation with the infamous Kokījī; held the office of *Mīr Bakhshi* of *Ahadis*; authorized to disburse the subsidy of twelve lakhs annually to the N W Afghāns to keep the passes open; charged with embezzlement; died in *A H.* 1144 or 1731 A.D.

23. Shaikh Muhammad Ansārī of Sambhal entitled Amīnu'd-dīn Khān Bahādur, who has left a book of letters, entered the service of Bahādur Shāh; became a *Wakīl* of 'Aẓīmu'sh-Shān; imprisoned by Jahāndār Shāh, liberated in February 1713; made *'Arẓ-i-mukarrar* and later *Buyūtāt-i-rikāb* on 3 December, 1718, replaced Afrāsiyāb Khān as 3rd *Bakhshī* on 13 December, 1714; Governor of Berar, 1716; *faujdār* of Aurangābād; replaced Fidāī Khān as first *Tūzak*, raised to 5 000, 2,500, died on 16 June, 1715 at the age of 68.

24 Abu'l-Hasan Sayyid Salābat Khān *Mujāhid Jang*; served as a *Bakhshi* of Jahāndār Shāh, appointed deputy of Samsāmu'd-daulāh and Darogha of royal Artillery on 24 December 1714, *Darogha-i-'Arz-i-mukarrar* on 24 March, 1716, got the *faujdāri* at the end of Farrukhsiyar's reign, and entertained John Surman and Edward Stephenson, 16 July, 1715, died at Delhi on 17 June, 1724

25 From the very commencement of the reign the Emperor's personal favourites, especially Mīr Jumla, induced him to enter into plots for the overthrow of the Sayyid Brothers. Quarrels arose over the distribution of offices of State like *Dīwāni* and *Sadārat* and the confiscated property of the defeated party see *L.M* I p 282-3 Mīr

Jumla had been authorized to sign in the Emperor's name on applications for appointment and promotions, and he constantly interferred in the *Wazīr's* department; he suggested the issuance of secret orders contradictory to those publicly sanctioned in the presence of the *Wazīr*. As early as March, 1713, the qurrel between the Emperor and his chief ministers had become so bitter and open that they had ceased to attend the Court.

26 He is said to have left Delhi in December, 1714; his first march began on 5 March, 1715 and 4 April, 1715 was the date of Husain 'Alī Khān's actual departure for the Deccan.

27. This appears to be somewhat exaggerated figure. In B.M. the number is 5,000 According to Mirzā Muḥammad (*INM*) he had his start with 7,000 Mughal troops. There were also some additional troops.

28. These are also exaggerated figures. According to Mirzā Muhammad thirty lakhs remitted from Bengal to Delhi were seized and misappropriated (*INM*).

29. A town about forty miles south west of Patna in Jahānābād subdivision of Gaya District. On 11 April, 1715 John Surman the English envoy passing through Arwal found "a strong form and good guard" built by Suddhist Narayan at Arwal.

30 Mīr Jumla's mismanagement of affairs; political and financial; and instances of excesses; cruelties and oppression practised by his Mughalia soldiers have been referred to by other contemporary writers also; but the rich details furnished by Shiv Dās are not to be found anywhere else. Even the *Akhbārāt-i-darbār-i-Mu'allā* which contain so many new things about Mīr Jumla's short tenure of office in Bihar are devoid of the details found in the present text.

31. Perhaps the poor porter was Muslim.

32. This unfortunate person may have been a Hindu.

33. This mansion was situated in *Mahalla* Kaiwan Shukoh now corrupted into Kawwa Khoh; which was near the old fort built by Sher Shāh. It was one of the prerogatives of the sovereign to witness the fight of animals such as elephants and lions and, therefore; Mīr Jumla committed a breach of the royal privilege.

34. According to Khāfī Khāh, on his surreptitions return to Delhi in a covered *doli*; Mir Jumla apparently roused the resentment of the Emperor and was censured not only for the violence and excesses, committed by his people in Bihar but also for having come to the Court without permission To pacify *Qutbu'l-mulk* the Emperor made a show of anger; dismissed him from office and cancelled his *manṣab* and sent him to the Punjab.

35 Dāwūd Khān was transferred from Gujarat to Burhanpur at the instance of Husain 'Alī Khān in May, 1715; and he took up his new office in August, 1715. Receiving secret instructions from the Court he opposed and fought against Husain 'Alī Khān and was defeated and killed on September 6, 1715.

36 The *Munshaāt-i-Aminu'd-din* (O P L MS) gives the contents of another; and an earlier secret letter, sent from the the Court to sound Dāwud Khān Pannī about proposed resistance and destruction of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.

37. This is not correct. There was an interval of about 5½ months between his departure from Delhi (10 *Zu'l-hijja A H.* 1126) December 1714 and arrival in the city of Patna (*Jumāda*. II, 1127 *A.H* June 1715) He returned to Delhi on 16 January 1716 (L M I, p 330). According to an *Akhbār* (J N. Sarkar transcript) dated 27 *Jumāda* I; 4th regnal year or 18 June 1715; Mīr Jumla arrived near the city of Patna, and on 1 *Jumāda* II; 4th regnal year; he entered the city with his followers, distributed 1,000 rupees in cash in charity, got into the fort; and on 2nd of the month (*Jumāda* II), at one *pahr* and two *gharis*, he received the salutation of the people including the judge and after sitting on the *Dīwān* for 5 *gharis* he rose up for rest.

38. These were the followers of Dhīr who died in December; 1712: and his son Suddhist Narayan. See *L.M.* I; p. 210 Wilson's *Annals of Bengal*, II, also *Tārikh-i-Ujjainia* (in Urdu, Vol., II; for these Ujjainia Rajputs of Barhaj; Braon; Piru, etc. in the Shāhābād District of Bihar.

39. See *M U L M.* I, 189. He was closely connected with Muhammed Amīn Khān Chīn and rose to the rank of 7,000 and was given Government of Lahore at the instance of the Sayyid Brothers but he went against them afterwards.

40. See also the eye-witness account of the English visitor in Wilson's *Annals of Bengal* Vol II. Khāfī Khān who relates what he saw refers to 'this youngman; just arrived at manhood' and to his mother whom he describes as an 'artful' and 'cunning' woman.

41a *Sarai* Badli, a hunting preserve, was about three miles to the west of Wazirabad and about four miles north of the imperial city of Delhi on the Jumuna bank. The Emperor started for the hunt on 29 March, 1716, and returned on 18 April.

42b. The clash between the retainers of the two parties with arrows and muskets occured on 21 April, 1716, and lasted for 5 *gharis*. The Emperor reduced the *mansabs* of the two nobles each by 1,000 for the time being and replaced Muhammad Amīn Khān in the *faujdāri* of Muradabad by Amīnu'd-dīn Khān Sambhalī (*L M.*; I; p. 306).

43. Son of Bhajja and nephew of Rājā Rām of Sinsani; 8 miles south of Dig, and 16 miles north-west of Bharatpur which were all Jāt strongholds. He founded the dynasty which till recently ruled over Bharatpur (west of Agra). See *L.M* ; I for the Jāt campaign September, 1716, April 1718, pp. 321-8.

38 miles from Delhi was the ancient town Palol or Palwal; 18 or 19 miles south of Palwal was Hodal. Thun was 8 miles west of Sansani.

44. Earlier Chabela Rām and Ṣamsāmu'd-daulāh had proved failures as Governors of Agra in suppressing the disturbances created by him. Samsāmu'd-daulāh suggested that he should be put in charge of the high-way from Delhi to Chambal had behind it the sinister motive of usurping royal territories and terrorizing the *jagirdārs*. See also, L M I, pp 324 ff.

45. *Qutbu'l-mulk*, who was not favourably disposed towards the Rājā got Khān-i-Jahān deputed over his head to enter into negotiations with Chūrāman at a time when the Rājā thought victory was within his grasp Jai Singh resented this very much but complied with the royal orders

46. The Mewāti Rājpūt Musalmāns and many of the mercenary Afghān immigrants of what came to be called Rohilkhand had entered the services of the Jāts and helped them in waylaying convoys of grains and plundering travellers, merchants and wayfarers

47. See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals* for the names size, range and significance of some of the heavy guns.

48 A Sayyid of Bārha and a relation of the Sayyid Brothers, who took up the imperialist cause and fought against his kinsmen He held many important jobs. such as the *faujdāri* of Mewāt and governorship of Agra and Aẓimābād which last was governed, on his behalf, by his deputy 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān, December, 1709 (sic) to June 1722. He died at Delhi on 25 June, 1722

49. Qāsim Lāhorī also refers to the severe famine year 2 of the *julūs* i e. 1713 A.D. when for one rupee even 3 or 4 seers of grains were not available and a whole world died of starvation (*I M*)

50. Sanjar Khān Lakhnawī was a *Dawudzai* Afghan and was posted at this time at Palwal, an ancient place, on the Grand Trunk Road, 38 miles from Delhi, to keep the highways clear as far as Hodal, 55 miles from Delhi and 11 miles from Chhatth. He showed such vigour and intrepidity in seizing the main criminals and safeguard-

ing the interests of the travellers and wayfarers that he became a *Panj-hazāri* (*'Ibrat Maqāl*). He died at Delhi early in February, 1724 Shiv Dās, also of Lakhnow, is very eulogistic of the qualities of head and heart of this valiant and generous hearted man, and it is significant that the colophon of the Hyderbad *ms*, of the *Shāhnāma* gives a hint that this earliest contemporary copy was written at the instance of *Khalil Khān Hamrāh-i-Imārat-o-Iyālat Panāh Nawwāb Sanjar Khān*

51 *Panja* means five fingers of the Emperor which were imprinted on special *farmāns*, and *qaul* means contract or written agreement

52 Muhammad Rafi,' entitled *Mubarizu'l-mulk Sarbaland Khān Dilāwar Jang*, a native of Thun in Persia, had married the sister of Prince 'Azimu'sh-Shān's wife He was appointed Governor of Allahābād on 16 June, 1714, and replaced Mir Jumla as Governor of Bihar, on 11 November, 1715 appointed Governor of Gujarat for the second time (first in 1712) in 1725, replaced Muhammad Khān Bangash as Governor of Allahābād for the second time in May, 1735 He died in January 1742 For a biographical sketch see *M U* III

53 Dhir (d 1712) has been confused with his second surviving son, Sudhhist Narain by contemporary writers such as Khāfi Khān, Mirzā Muhammad Qāsim Lāhori and the author of *Hadiqutu'l-Aqālim* whose father, Ilahyār Khān Bilgirāmi, had participated, along with Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ghāzipuri, in the campaign against the Ujjainias, Kāmwar Khān has given the correct name and version.

54 For his career and rapid rise see *L.M* I pp 340-45, 406

55 This chief official or personal *Diwān* of *Wazir* 'Abdullāh Khān was a grain dealer of Agarwal Banya subcaste, and a native of Jansath in Muzaffarnagar District of U.P to which the *Wazir* belonged. This man, says Khāfi Khān "looked to nobody's business without some

underhand arrangements for the benefit of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and himself". See also *L.M.*. I, p. 291.

56. A plan was made at the instance of Mīr Jumla to make the two brothers prisoners on an hunting excursion to the garden of Muhsin Khān, but it failed for the Emperor's mother sent the information to the Sayyids Another attempt to dispose of the hated *Wazīr* on the occasion of a hunting excursion was foiled by Samsāmu'd-daulāh. The two factors which explain the temporary change in the attitude of the two erstwhile rivals were the mediation of Khwāja Ja'far, a mystic *Darwesh*, and a brother of Samsāmu'd-daulāh and the latter's anger at the machination of Murād Kashmīrī against him. According to the author of *Mirāt-i-Wāridāt* there was once an exchange of hot words between the Emperor and his former favourite, Samsāmu'd-daulāh.

57. It was on the suggestion of his favourite, Murād entitled *I'tiqād Khān* Kshamīrī, that the Emperor decided to summon some of the grandees and try to utilize them for the overthrow of the *Wazīr* Ajit Singh, Niẓāmu'l-mulk, and Sarbaland Khān were summoned to the Court from their respective places, Jodhpur, Muradabad and Bihar Ajit Singh, who was the last to arrive on 30 August 1718 went over to the Sayyids against his royal son-in-law Others were either lukewarm or backed out

58 The Niẓām hastened from his *faujdārī* of Murādābād and reached the Court on 24 September, 1718 As his office and *jāgir* in Murādābād had been given to I'tiqād Khān, he burnt with rage against the 'worthless favourite'. 'Abdullāh Khān did his best to console him, and promised him *ṣubadārī* of Malwa, if he preferred it to Bihar.

59. It was the Governor of Bihar, Sarbaland Khān and not Niẓāmu'l-mulk, who was called first to the Court with the offer of *Wizarat* Sarbaland Khān arrived at the Court on 8 July, 1718. The figures of the forces brought by him appear to be many times more than those given by Mirzā Muhammad and Qāsim Lāhorī

60. Hearing the news of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's advance from Burhānpur on 15 November, 1718, the *Wazīr* broke his month's old self-imposed retirement. The Emperor paid a visit to the *Wazir's* house on 4 December, 1718.

61. Husain 'Alī Khān had already received his brother's letter asking him to return to Delhi He left Burahānpur on 4 December, 1718; and accompanied by Marhatta contingent of about 15,000 set out towards Delhi. See *L.M*, I, pp. 358-9.

62 Though Husain 'Alī Khān had some excuse for changing his attitude of hostility into alliance with the Marhattas yet the terms and conditions that he agreed to at the expense of the Empire he served, condamned him in the eyes of many of the contemporaries and also of posterity. By the agreement of February, 1718, the help of the Marhattas was secured on the following conditions : (a) Raja Sahu was to get *Chauth* or 1/4th and *Sardeshmukhi* of the six *ṣūbas* of the Deccan; (b) Sāhu's mother and half brothers were to be released from their long captivity in Delhi, (c) the Marhatta claim on Berar, Gondwana and Karnatak was to be recognised; (d) the Marhatta contingent was to get cash salary daily The Marhattas were led by the first *Peshwa* who was accompanied by his more famous son. They saw the pitiable state of affairs in Delhi and did nat fail to profit by the same. Thus was broken the spell of Mughal invincibility.

63. A *Qāẓīzāda* (son of the *qāẓī* family) who in external appearances had some likeness with the prince of royal house, was brought by Mu'aẓẓam, *Jama'dār*, and he was declared to be Sultān Mu'inu'd-dīn Husain, a son of Prince Akbar the *abtar* (Akbar, the wretched) who had rebelled against his father Aurangzeb, and died as an exiled in Persia The puppet pretender became an obsession with Farrukhsiyar. It was the supposed danger from him that caused the cowardly ruler to yield concession after concession to the Sayyids.

64. Ikhlās Khān originally named Devi Rā'i Khatrī was a converted Muslim and a disciple of *Mullā* 'Abdullāh

Siālkotī. He held various responsible posts from the time of Aurangzeb including the offices of *'Arzi-mukarrar*, and *Diwāni-i-tan*, but was generally known according to Kāmrāj *bin* Nain Sukh (*I.N.K.*,) as *Mir Munshi*. He had risen from the rank of 5,000 under Farrukhsiyar to that of 7,000 under Muhammad Shāh, and enjoyed the confidence of the Sayyids. According to Irvine he met Husain 'Alī Khān at *Sarāi* A'ẓam, north of the Narbada, early in December, 1718 Kāmrāj says that when he failed in carrying out his instructions to persuade the younger Sayyid to return, by deceit and deception he sounded him by a note of warning by revealing him fully the king's plots and intrigues against his brother. Qāsim Lāhorī also refers to the failure of the excuses, deception, requests and entreaties. Khāfī Khān says that Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān was willing to mend matters even at this stage but he changed his mind on the second and third day, after having heard repeatedly from trustworthy and confidential agents that Emperor's conduct was merely a device and snare to catch fools.

65. It was probably from his camp at *Sarāi* Allāhawardī, 12 *kos* from Delhi (16 miles south-west of city), where Ratan Chand and Amīnu'd-daulāh saw the *Amiru'l-umara* that the letter was written on 4 February, 1719. The next important stage for encampment was Ramna Wazīrābād, about 4 miles north of the city, on the bank of the Jamuna close to the Lāt Fīroz Here he gave expression of his rebellious intentions by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly and declared that he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch.

66. Sarbaland Khān was appointed to Kabul on 7 January, 1719, but he halted at a place 9 *kos* from the city

67. Niẓāmu'l-mulk was appointed on 8 February, 1718 to the Province of Bihar, but he was reluctant to go there. Muhammad Amīn Khān had left his charge of Malwa and returned to the Court. He was replaced by Niẓāmu'l-mulk in the Government of Malwa. Attempts were

made to remove the long-continued ill-will between the *Wazir* and the Niẓām by mutual visits to their houses.

68 Zafar Khān, along with others, saw Husan 'Alī Khān at *Sarāi* Allāhawardī on 6 March, 1719.

69. There is a big jump here, for it was much later that "the talk of tomorrow" took place (Cf. *IM.*, I p. 377).

70. Khāfī Khān informs us that four or five days after the arrival of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, 'Abdullāh Khān made a statement of his brother's grievances and said, among other things, that if Rājā Jai Singh, the evil genius, were sent home to his country, and if the fortress were placed under his custody, then he would come without any apprehension to pay homage. The fickle-minded dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, granted the demand of the Sayyids.

The alienation of Jai Singh from the Sayyids was due more to personal rather than high imperial interests. Husain 'Alī Khān had sided with Bhīm Singh, son of Rām Singh Hādā, against Budh Singh of Būndī who was a protege and brother-in-law of Jai Singh. That he could not brook the ascendancy of the Sayyids as was evidenced by the refuge he gave to those who had fled from Delhi and conspired against them. He actually marched from Amber to bolster the cause of Mitr Sen's puppet prince at Agra. Though he tried to play his card adroitly, it was doubtful if his repeatedly preferred help to Farrukhsiyar could be of much use for he had the head to plan but no hand to execute.

71. Jai Singh was the only influential noble who refused to be neutral in the tussle between the King and the Chief Minister. He once offered the services of his 20,000 troops Though ordered to return to his home country, he did not go beyond twenty or thirty *kos* from the city and stayed at *Sarāi* Suhail. It was perhaps at his hint that the courtiers suggested to the Emperor that he should go out for hunting and then the royalists would join him. But all his advice and suggestions fell flat on the benighted Emperor.

72. If by this is meant Jai Singh's departure, it happened on 12 February, 1719. But it was on 16 February that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān entered Delhi with drums beating like an independent ruler in utter disregard of the imperial etiquette.

73. The first audience lasted for one *pahr* and the terrified Emperor granted all the demands of his aggressive ministers and humbled himself by placing his own turban on Ḥusain 'Alī,s head. The posts of the superintendents of *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*, of royal Artillery, and of the pages and of the royal attendants and *Hazārī* artillery garrison were secured for Ḥusain Alī Khān's adherents.

74 In the morning of 17 February, 1719 the *Wazir* entered the Palace with Ajīt Singh, and the main gate, the office room, and the bed chambers were all placed under his own guards. Both the *Wazir* and his accomplices, specially, the Jodhpur Rājā remained in the fort during the night.

75. *Irvine*, (*L. M.*, I, p. 377) on the basis of *Ma'ṣir-i-'Ālamgiri*, writes that Sāhu's half brothers were named Madan Singh and Udho Singh. Kāmwar Khān speaks only of the former who was realeased on 1st *Jumāda* I, 1131 *A.H.* i. e. 11 March, 1719.

76. The date of the abandoned excursion given by Irvine is 18 *Rabī* II/ 27 February, 1719. This does not tally with what we learn from Mirzā Muhammad and Kāmwar Khān who give 6 *Rabī*'II==15 February 1719.

77. A. H. 1129 found in most *mss* is obviously incorrect for it should be 1131 Mirzā Muḥammad give nine instead of 8th *Rabī*' II/ 17 February (I M)

78. Ajīt Singh and Bhīm Singh Hādā of Kotah were among those who in a conference held on February 19 advised the Sayyid Brothers to demand the key posts and custody of the strategic' places in the fort and in the Palace for their own men.

Never had a noble or Minister been so presumptuous and bold to have a reigning soverign to be dragged out of his

inner apartment, thrown down on the ground, and blinded. But powerful nobles having some valid grievance against Farrukhsiyar suspended their rivalry and stood neutral, and the greatest enemy of the Sayyids, Muhammad Amīn Khān went so far as to advise them to lose no time in disposing him. He dissuaded his son, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, and others to continue their march for the rescue of their helpless lord and master.

79. The author of *Tārīkh-i-'Ālī* says that Farrukhsiyar having uttered some very harsh words about the Sayyids went inside the female apartment and hid himself in the vault of the *Asad Burj*. According to Qāsim Lāhorī, Hoshdār Khān, son of Jalāl Rohilla, entered the female quarters and forcibly dragged out the unfortunate royal victim and put out his eyes with a needle. He was confined in *Tripulia*

80 See *L M*, I. p 385 for the futile efforts of some of the imperialists and loyalists to avert the calamity.
According to Qāsim Lāhorī Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, 'Abdu's-Samad Khān the latter's son, Zikriyā Khān, and some other Mughal nobles proceeded upto the gate of the fort, but Muhammad Amīn Khān dissuaded them saying "we are heart and soul loyal to the *Sādāt* (Sayyids), and would salute them even if they wear the crown; but they have no ambition for sovereignty" (IM)

81 The intelligent but consumptive twenty years old son of Rafī'ush-Shan was elevated to the throne on Wednesday, 9th *Rabi'* II, 1131 *A H.* (28 February, 1719), on the very day of the depositon and confinement of Farrukhsiyar. He reigned for 3 months and 10 days, and died 15 days after retiring in favour of his elder brother on 6 *Rajab A. H.* 1131/16 May Khāfī Khān gives 20 *Rajab A.H.* 1131/28, May 1719. See also *L M.*, I, pp. 418-20.

82. The father-in-law of Farrukhsiyar, and a Husainī Sayyid of Māzandrān (Persia). According to Irvine he died two or three days after. Sa'ādat Khān's *Jāgīrs* as well as those of his sons and of Shā'ista Khān, the maternal uncle of the deposed Emperor, were confiscated.

83. There was difference of opinion between the two Sayyid brothers on the question of Nizāmu'l-mulk's appointment. The *Wazir* had secured his appoitment to the Government of Bihar; but the *Amīru'l-umarā* had him appointed to Mālwa.

    The Nizām shrewdly preferred Malwa, which was half way between Delhi and the Deccan and was key province, to the distant and compartively smaller province like Bihār.

84. Ghairat Khān was the son of Sayyid Nasrullāh Khān and of the sister of the king-makers He had acted as the deputy of his uncle, Husain 'Alī Khān, in Bihar when the later marched with Farrukhssiyar towards Agra in September, 1712 He remained in Bihar till February, 1715 when Mīr Jumla replaced him. He was subsequently appointed to Agra and was killed on 8th October, 1720 while attempting to avenge murder of his uncle

85 Gaughat, on the Jamuna, a few miles north west of Agra.

86 *Hazārīs*, analogous with *Mingbashis* meant commanders of a thousand; they were generally artillery captains. These matchlockmen and gunners in the army of the Mughals who were also employed for guarding the imperial forts came mostly from the sturdy Rājpūts or Bhūmihārs of Baksar on the Ganges (Shāhābād Distict of Bihār).

    Rāī Chattraman refers to Baksar, near Dumraon, as the homeland of Baksariyas of the artillery. Miter Sen is said to have been a Nāgai *Brahman* but Qāsim Lāhorī describes him as a Tewarī Brahman and the chief leader of the Baksariya militia who guarded the royal residence He wrote to 'Abdullāh Khān and tempted him with abundance of wealth and the same rank and position as he had held under Farrukhsiyar. 'Abdullāh was half inclined to fall in with the proposal and accept Nekosiyar. But Husain 'Alī Khān would not agree and moved his camp to Bāraprula on 15 May, 1719.

87. It was on 18 April, 1719 that the garrison of Agra Fort led by Mitr Sen proclaimed Nekosiyar, son of Prince

Akbar-i-abtar and refused to recognise Rafī'u'd-darajāt. The hoarded wealth of the fort was utilised to enlist troops for the new sovereign and powerful support was expected of the two bitter enemies of the Sayyids i.e Rājā Jai Singh and Chabelā Rām Nāgar. It was also expected from the Tūrānis such as 'Abdu's-Samad Khān and possibly Niẓāmu'l-mulk. But except Jai Singh who marched from Amber upto Toda Bhim, 80 *kos* from Agra, along with Salābat Khān, Sha'ista Khān, Tahauwar Khān and other nobles who constantly instigated him to take revenge upon the Sayyids, no other leader actually moved from his place. Though the Nizām passed through Agra on the way to Malwa he paid no heed to the request for help.

88. On hearing the news of the revolt at Agra, Husain 'Alī Khān sent a force under Ḥaidar Qulī Khān to support his nephew, Ghairat Khān, the *Nāẓim*. On 19 June, he himself set out at the head of 25,000 (Khāfī Khān) for that city; pitched his camp at Dahr Ārā garden on 12 July, and pressed the siege vigorously. The walls of the fort and even the Pearl Mosque were damaged by the heavy cannonade.

89. In a superstitious country of superstitious persons when Patna and Delhi astrologers could easily deceive men like Farrukhsiyar, it reflects credit on Husain 'Alī Khān that on more than one occasion he brusquely brushed aside the misgivings and forebodings of his friends and astrologers. Qāsim Lāhorī says that the *Amīru'l-umarā* did not believe in astrologers omens and auspicious or inauspicious days and hours

90. The siege had lasted for three or four months, but none of the expected supporters had come to help At last when the provisions failed, the garrison lost heart and Nekosiyar's brother 'Alī Asghar, tried to escape, but fell with the money that he carried, in the hands of the unscrupulous Chūrāman. The surrender of the fort occured (according to Khāfī Khān) on 27th *Ramaẓān*/2 August. The prince and his brother was sent back to their old

Prison house in Delhi, and his supporters were placed under surveillance

91. See Irvine's *Army of Mughals* for the description of such heavy guns.

92. *L M*; p 424 for the two Chūrāmans or Chūras.

93. Many contemporary writers have referred to the unseemly quarrels and bickerings between the two brothers on the spoils of victory and booty appropriated by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Ratan Chand intervened and prevented the tension being noised abroad.

    Irvine (*L M*, I, pp. 427-8) gives interesting details of the hoarded wealth which had been lying unnoticed in the fort since long It included 35 lakh *tankas* minted in Sikandar Lodī's reign 78 Lakhs of Shājahān's silver coinage and 10,000 gold coins of Akbar's regin The papers of accounts (of these amounts) were also recovered Other valuables included a *shawl* studded with Jewels belonging to Nūrjahān and the sheet sprinkled with Jewels prepared for Mumtāz Mahal's tomb One valuation puts the property at 1, 80,00,000 but Khāfī Khān puts it to 2 to 3 crores

94 This should be Rafī'u'd-daulāh for his younger brother Rafī u'd-darajāt had already abdicated on 4th June, in his favour, and died a week later on 11th June

95 See *M. U.* and *L. M.*, II, p. 55 Muhammad Riza Isfhānī, entitled Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, and Irānī immigrant who had risen under Prince 'Azīmu'sh-Shān an held many offices such as the *Dīwān* of the Deccan and of Gujarat, and of Sorath (Surat?) Due to his services as *Mīr Ātish*, he was raised to the rank of 8,000 *zāt*/7,000, *suwār* and he began to dream of becoming the *Wazīr-i-mamālik*. As for his uneasy relations with Niẓāmu'l-mulk and failure as the Governor of Gujarat because of his mounting ambition and bad conduct we gather more information from Shiv Dās, Khushhālchand and others.

96. Bad food, slow posion and ultimately stabbing with dagger finished him in the night between 8/9 *Jumāda* II (17-18

April, 1718). Be it said to the credit of Sīdī Yāsīn, the son of Sīdī Qāsim, the *Kotwāl* of Delhi, who had been innocently and unjustly executed by Farrukhsiyar at the instance of his favourite, Mīr Jumla, that though urged he refused to take any revenge or misbehave towards the fallen ruler.

The words "*Ẕāt-i-malakī-sifāt*" reflects the proimperial predilection of our author.

Shiv Dās, Kāmwar Khān (*T. S. C.*) Qāsim Lāhorī (*IM*) Āshūb (*TSF*), Khushhālchand (*NZ*) and the celebrated poet, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Bedil have used very harsh words about the Sayyids, while Āzād Bilgrāmī (*KA*) Ghulām Ḥusain (*SM*), Khāfī Khān (*M.L*) and other have adduced exteruating circumstance and reffered to some good points in their character also

97. 'Abdullāh Khān marched out of Delhi at the head of 30,000 with Ajit Singh and the new monarch, Rafī'u'd-daulāh during June-July, 1719 (according to Khāfī Khān) Rainy season delayed his march against Jai Singh, but he reached Mathura within 10 *kos* of which the Jaipur Rājā was awaiting the arrival of Chabela Rām and other allies As the there was no response from any where, Jai Singh sent his *Wakīl* to offer apologies and make peace. According to another version, Ajit Singh acted as the mediator and induced Jai Singh to submit and retire.

98. Rājā Ajit Singh of Jodhpur who was favoured with the rank of 7000/7000, had been defeated earlier by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān but he became the greatest friend of the Sayyid Brothers. He helped them in deposing and disposing of his imperial son-in-law, for which his army was pelted with stones by the hostile populace of the city. For this, as also his services as a mediator against Rājā Jai Singh (note 97 above), he was given the following concessions; (a) permission to take back his (*Dola*) daughter from the imperial *ḥaram* and reconvert her to Hinduism (b) acceptance of his request for the abolition of *jiziya* orders of the puppet Emperor (c) appointment to the *ṣūbadāri* of Ajmer and Gujarat on 15 November, 1719.

Jai Singh was given the *faujdārī* of Sorath (Surat) in Ahmadābād on 2 November, 1719. Khāfī Khān's observation that from the environs of the capital to the banks of the Narbada the infidels were engaged in repairing temples and attempting to forbid cow slaughter finds a virtual echo in the words of a modern historian. 'In this way', Irvine, quoting a contemporay authority, Wārid, writes: 'the country from a point sixty miles south of Delhi to the shores of the Ocean at Sūrat was in the hands of these two Rājāhs, very untustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on their exposed frontiers" (*L.M.* II, p. 4).

99. Kāmrāj *bin* Nain Sukh says that the *Wazīr* marched with the King (unnamed) from Delhi to chastise Jai Singh, and proceeded to Fathahpur and encamped at village Kuraoli, eight *kos* from Agra. From Kuraoli he marched with the King to Fathapur Sikri and halted for 3 or 4 days, at Vidyapur. Here the Emperor died of chronic consumption on 7 *Zulqa'da* (17 or 18 Septamber 1719) while according to Haig (*CHI*,? IV, p. 320) it occurred on 17 September 1719.

It was at Vidyapur that the enthronement of Raushan Akhtar entitled Muhammad Shāh Ghāzī occurred on 15th *Zulqa'da*, A. H. 1131/18 September, 1719.

100. This is a very important personal reference.

101. Here again Rafī'u'd-darajāt has been wrongly substituted for Rafī'u'd-daulāh, his predecessor and elder brother. The news of Rafī'u'd-daulāh's death was kept a guarded secret for a little more than a week till Sayyid Ghulām Alī son of Khān-Jahān, and a cousin of the king-makers, brought Prince Raushan Akhtar from the Shāhjahānābād Tripolia, the prison of the princes.

102. See *M.U*, and *L.M.*, II. pp. 6-8. A Nāgar Brahman from Gujarat who along with his brother, Dayā Rām, had served for long under 'Azīmu'sh-Shān in the Revenue Department. As the *Faujdār* of Kara Jahānābād he joined 'Azzu'd-dīn, son of Jahāndār Shāh, but subsequently deserted to Farrukhsiyar, and gave him same presents also.

According to Qāsim Lāhori the remittances from Bengal and the goods of traders were often seized on various pretexts by the Nāgar *Sūbadār* of Allahābād.

103. The words put in the mouth of Husain 'Alī Khān on the occasion, by a writer were *'Afsos ṣaghir-o-kabir sar-burīda-i-āū ra bar nok-i-sinān wa Jasad-i-ū-az dum-i-fīl wazhgūn avizan na didand*" (Alas men, young and old, did not have the opportunity to see his severed head on the point of the spear and his body turned upside down and hanging by the tail of the elephant)

104 The river commonly called Sarsuti (after Saraswati, the wife of Brahma, the goddess of speech and eloquence, art and music, etc.) joined the Ganges and the Jamuna at Allahābād which was, therefore, called *Tribeni*

105. The younger of the three famous Ansārī brothers of Panipat The eldest brother, Dil Dilēr Khān, originally named Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ansārī, entitled Mu'īnu'd-daulāh, had been an absented Governor of Kashmir and was appointed *Buyūtāt-i-rikāb* He died at Lahore in 1737 The other Lutfullāh Khān Sādiq, entitled Shamsu'd-dulāh, was the paternal grandfather of the authors of *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffari*, and *Bahru'l-Mawwaj* He died in 1751. The youngest, the best and the bravest, Sher Afgan, entitled *Izzu'd-daulāh Safdar Jang*, held the government of Mālwa and Multān, was *Faujdār* of Kora Jahanābād, figured prominently in the revolts of Agra and Allahābād, and in the battle of Hasanpur and also in the shoe-maker's riot. He held the office of *Khān-i-sāmān* or Lord Chamberlain, led successfull expeditions for suppre-ssing turbulent *zamīndārs* of Mardak and Barhulla and many of the tribal chieftains of north west, died of cancer on the 3rd October 1731

106 Khāfī Khān says that the siege went on for three months

107 Husain 'Alī Khān had ordered a bridge of boat to be thrown over the Jamuna for the advance force to cross the river He sent his troops to the other side on 15 December, 1719. His elder brother marched with the Emperor from Delhi with the ostensible purpose of

barring the progress of Jai Singh, but in reality to prevent being duped by the younger brother of the spoils of victory. He insisted that the affairs of Allahābād be left to him, because those of Akbarābād had been exclusively managed by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. It was after four months wrangling that only 21 lakhs of rupees were grudgingly handed over to him. The unseemly quarrels were kept under control by the mediation of Ratan Chand.

108. Gridhar's revolt has been placed by Irvine in August, 1719 A.D. just a little before the fall of Agra fort, and during the life time of his uncle.

After a long siege the Sayyid Brothers sent Ratan Chand as their emissary to Gridhar Bahādur and a settlement was arrived at in May, 1720. See also *I.M.*, II pp. 6-8, 10-15.

109. The first twelve days of the third Arbic month *Rabī' I*, held sacred by the orthodox Muslims according to whom both birth and death of the Prophet of Islam took place within these twelve days called *Bāra wafāt*

110. This extract gives us an insight into the brighter side of the hot-tempered self-willed Amīru'l-umarā. Qāsim Lāhorī says about him that *Dar Ba'ẓ-i-Muqaddamāt āyāt-i-rahmat būd* (In certain matters he had the marks of God's Mercy).

111. Irvine writes 'the Bengal treasure which was delayed at Patna, was sent for, orders being issued that out of the total sum (90 Lakhs), thirty Lakhs should be paid to Gridhar Bahādur, and the balance be sent to head-quarters (*J. A. S. B*, 1908, p. 519).

112. According to Khāfī Khān, Ahmad Khān, a brother of Muhammad Khān Bangash occupied the fort of Allahābād. We do not know who Ḥusain Khān, referred to here, was. As to Awadh, Gridhar Bahādur was assigned charge of its administration along with all *sarkārs* and *jāgīrs* and the right to appoint all military and civil servants (*faujdārī wa dīwānī*). In addition he received

a grant of Rs. 30 Lakhs. Mīr Musharraf, the former Governor was removed and replaced by Gridhar Bahādur.

113. 'Alī Asad Khān has not been mentioned by any other authority.

114. Niẓāmu'l-mulk, like his father, Ghāzīu'd-dīn *Fīroz Jang*, had 'won his spurs in the Deccan' and 'formed secret projects' for the six provinces of the south.

Differences had arisen earlier with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān over the supersession of Marhamat Khān the, Commander of Mandu, by Khwājam Qulī Khān. Instead of being removed Marhamat Khān was employed by the Niẓam in subduing Jai Chand Bundela of Rāmgarh. Ḥusain 'Alī disregarded Niẓām's request for pardoning Marhamat for the supposed flight to the *Amīru'l-umara* Soon after news-writers reported that the Niẓām was enlisting men and collecting materials of war, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān sent for the agent of the Niẓām,. catalogued his complaints, used abusive words, and asked him to report it to his master. This led to the exchange of letters we get in the text.

115. Irvine adds this to the text of the letter. "He objected to giving up Mālwa just as the instalments of the *Rabi* harvest were falling due, this being the time when most of the revenue was paid". (*J. A. S. B.*, 1908, p. 521).

116. Shiv Das does not refer to the *farmān* recalling the Niẓām from Mālwa and offering him the choice of any one of four *ṣūbas*. According to Khāfī Khān, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān wrote to the Niẓām that for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the Deccan, he wanted to hold the *Sūba* of Mālwa himself, and that he would let him choose any of the *ṣūbas* of Agra, Allahābād, Multān and Burhānpur.

117. Irvine (*L.M.*, II, p. 19) refers to the letter of Muhammad Amīn Khān sent from Agra to the Niẓām that having suppressed the Agra and Allahabad revolts the Sayyids would try to destroy him and the addressee. To this letter was annexed another one in Muḥammad Shāh's own hand, and bearing the seal of the Emperor's mother,

Maryam Makānī, asking the Nizām to liberate the Emperor from the thraldom of the hated king-makers.

Khāfī Khān tells us that even after accession the Emperor's letter were often sent by him and his mother through Muhammad Amīn Khān.

The Niẓām felt encouraged; he had already used and the interval of eight or nine months in collecting seven or eight thousand horses and materials of war.

118. The Niẓām crossed the Narbada on 28 April, 1720, and on the 16th of the month the strong fortress of Amīrgrah was secured and was utilized for keeping his family and property. Another important acquisition was Burhānpur which was surrendered by Sayyid Anwar Khān, a protege of the Sayyids, and the the Nizām was joined by 'Iwaz Khān, the *Nāẓim* of Berar.

For the date and the details of the battle of Khandura, see *L.M.*, II, pp. 28-34.

119. Irvine is inclined to accept a version not very dissimilar to that of Shiv Das who differs from the official account of the Nizām's scheming tactics and which explains the great loss suffered by the opposite party. A large body was put in ambush in the deep ravines that lay between the two forces. His advanced guard was kept concealed in the hollows on each side. The Nizām had set his guns in a position which commanded from either side the only road across the ravine. Two or three men, closely resembling the Niẓām in features and age were dressed up and placed on elephants and they simulated retreat when Dilāwar 'Alī Khān came face to face with his supposed foe, the fake Niẓām fled and was pursued. The ravine having been reached, the guns did their work, the leaders fell, and the army dispersed.

120. The sister-in-law of the Sayyid Brothers with her children including the mother of Saifu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān had been intercepted at Burhānpur, but were well treated and passed on safely upto the Narbada. Husain 'Alī Khān's wife and family, however, were still at Aurangābād.

Overtures were reluctantly opened through Dīyānat Khān, *ex-Diwān* of the Deccan, were duly despatched. 'Ālam 'Alī Khān was ordered to pacify the victor and delay his aggressive action for revenge till the family had been sent away safely. The latter to 'Ālam 'Alī Khān is said to have been dated 27 *Rajab*, A. H. 1132/24 May, 1720.

121. In reply to his uncle's letter, Ālam 'Alī Khān had reported that he had amassed an Army of 30,000 horse and Rājā Sāhu had promised to send 15 to 16,000 Marhattas headed by Bājī Rāo to help him.

   The Battle of Bālāpur was fought and the gallant 22 years old 'Ālam 'Alī Khān sacrified his life for his uncle. Sankarjī was wounded and taken prisoner.

122. Irvine remarks, 'Niẓām'ul-mulk, upto this time a fugitive and a rebel, henceforth assumed, in full reliance on the *farmān* the attitude of a legally appointed Governor, loyally fighting for his sovereign rights (*J.A.B S.*, 1908, p 543)' Qāsim Lāhorī also supports this view.

123. This ruse, not mentioned by any other authority, was quite in keeping with the Mughal method of warfare and Niẓām's tactics.

124. Rājā Sāhu had sent many notable chiefs at the head of seventeen to eighteen thousand horsemen to help 'Ālam 'Alī Khān According to Khushhal Chand (*NZ*) all powers were centred in Shankarājī Malhār who had recently come back from Delhi Grant Duff also mentions him. Khāfī Khān, records the names of Santājī Sindhiā, Khāndujī Dhandaria (Khānde Rāo Dābhadar) Sankarjī Malhār, Kānujī and other Marhattas of repute who came with 17 or 18 thousand to join 'Ālam 'Alī Khān.

125. The report of the defeat and death of Ālam 'Alī Khān near Balapur on 6th Shawwāl, *A H* 1132, reached Agra on 17 August. A few days before this date Husain 'Alī Khān's advance guards had arrived at Kuraolī. seventeen or eighteen miles from Agra Despite the earnest persuation of 'Adullāh Khān, the ungrateful Rāthor Rājā who had attained a dominant position through the favours of

the Sayyids avoided accompanying Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to the Deccan.

126. The imperial tents were sent to *Sarāi* Sahāra 7½ miles from the city, on 24 August, 1720. On 2 September they moved to Kuraoli. Here 'Abdullāh Khān had his audience of leave-taking and left for Delhi.

127. On 27 August, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān replaced Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, son of Sayyid Jahān as *Mīr Ātish* or Chief of the Imperial Artillery which consisted of 16,000 cannon, big or small, and rockets. He professed to be a Mughal but really was of Irānī extraction. He later became a suspect and was about to be replaced by Ghairat Khān; but before the Emperor's approval could be obtained Husain 'Alī Khān was murdered.

According to Qāsim Lāhorī, Kāmwar Khān and Khushhāl Chand, he had revived the old practice of firing a salute of ten to twenty field pieces (*rakhāla*) when the Emperor entered his tent, thus announcing the latter's movements to the whole camp.

128. Another abortive attempt was made earlier on the 'old wolf' Muhammad Amīn Khān, when the news of the tragic death of 'Ālam 'Alī Khān reached Agra Muhammad Amīn Khān got scent of the plot, fortified his house which was situated in the quarters of Rājā Bhoj in Agra city, on one side on which flowed the Jamuna and, on the other three sides there was a deep ditch. He challenged Ḥusain 'Alī Khān who denied the intention to harm him. The sacred spot of Tājganj was also fortified by the intended victim. The sensible advice of Ikhlās Khān and 'Abdullāh, Khān, however, proved a detterrant.

129. 'Abdullāh Khān left the imperial camp on 4 September, 1720 on his way to Delhi. He halted for a few days at Sikandra near Agra, and on 29 September, 1720 he arrived at *Sarāi* Chātha, about fortyeight miles north-west of Agra and about sixtyfour miles from Delhi Nandgon Barsana was at about twenty miles from the Jamuna.

130. This affair has not been mentioned by any other authority though there is nothing improbable about it.

Ratan Chand, who was a representative of the elder brother was very particular about his religious observations and was superstitious also. Faith in astrological predictions was generally common at this time. Not only Shiv Dās and Khushhāl Chand, but Kāmwar Khān also appears to have had faith in astrology. Referring to the earthquake of *Ramazān*, 2, *A.H.* 1132/June, 1720 Khushhal Chand writes 'all the astrologers and star-knowers of Delhi interpreted the calamity as a foreboding of the downfall of the Emperor's opponents. They had predicted that one would be killed and the other would be imporisoned, and this was what actually happened'. He refers also to a Hindu astrologer named Budh Kishan of Bandokkar who on 11 *Muharram* (10 November) had predicted that 'Abdullāh Khān would be arrested on the 14 of that month.

131. Bhusawar was thirtyeight miles west of Agra. The camp was pitched at or near village Jiund or Jond on Biund which was about two *kos* off to the east of Toda Bhīm in Jaipur territory from Bhusawar

According to Khushhal Chand the camp was at *Qasba* Paota, eight miles north east of Toda Bhim, and five miles north of Lakhen Pass

132. Husain 'Ali Khān's friends warned him in vain against the machinations of this Mughal leader who they said, was at the root of all trouble. He had played his part very adroitly for, on the one hand, he had advised Farrukhsiyar's deposition, had uttered very abusive words in the open Court about the baseness and wickedness of Nizāmu'l-mulk, had offered to send his son, Qamaru'd-din Khān to the Deccan to escort the family of the Sayyids. On the other hand, he always conversed with the Emperor in the *Turki* language, making significant hints concerning the plan of Liberating him from the irksome control of the Sayyids. He was the channel of

communication between the Emperor and his mother and Niẓāmu'l-mulk.

133. According to Khāfī Khān he belonged to the Chaghtāi race; *Ashūb* tells us that he was Dūghlat Mughal of Kāshghar. He was called Mir because his family members had acquired the title of *Mīr-i-Shamshīr* (lord of the sword). Mirzā Ḥaidar Dūghlat, the Ruler of Kashmir, in the time of Humāyūn, and the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidī*, is said to have been the great-grand father of the assassin (*L.M.*, II, p. 57).

134. For a grahic description of the incident, which occurred on 8 October, 1720, see *L.M.* II, pp. 59-60.

135. The lad of fourteen or fifteen who stood in front near the palanquin was Sayyid Nūr 'Alī, son of Asadullāh Khān Bārha, called Nawwāb Aulia, cousin of the king-makers.

136. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, a cousin of the Sayyid Brothers, and Superintendent of the Privy Audience Chamber, attempted to cut through the canvas enclosure and seize the Emperor but Sa'āt Khān foiled the move. Then Sa'ādat Khān mounted the Emperor on Qamaru'd-dīn Khān's elephant called *Baland Bakht*. The imperial artillery began to ply creating havoc on the Sayyid's camp.

137. This was the Abyssinian slave of Ḥaidar Qulī Khan named *Hāji* Bashīr who was holding in his hand a loaded European matchlock. On receiving a hint from his master, he fired a shot which entered the breast of Ghairat Khan and finished him.

138. The figure need not be taken as accurate. The same amount has been mentioned on several previous occasions such as the Bengal treasure which was seized at Benāres and misappropriated by Mīr Jumla; the cash and kind which was found in the store of Agra by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān; Mitr Sen using the cash which he had found in Agra treasurers. etc.

139. The verse yields A.H. 1133 which was the year of emancipation, two years later than the year of accession

which was 1131. Ilqa was the poet who composed the chronogram (Khushhāl Chand.)

140. On the day following the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the Emperor held a formal Court, and conferred the office of *Wizārat* on Muḥammad Amīn and favoured other personages with ranks, office and *jāgirs* at a place between Bhushwar and Kharida.

141. This is a new and interesting information. Qāsim Lāhorī who was present on the scene of action and some others simply say that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's severed head was triumphantly carried to the *Rāoti* (a kind of small tent) of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, where the Emperor was brought out from the protective grip of his Amazonian women guards, and was thrown at his feet. According to another version, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's head was cut off by his murderer, Haidar Beg Dūghlat. Muhamman Amīn Khān, at once appeared on the scene and carried the Sayyid's severed head to the Emperor's tents; but Muhammed Shāh shrank from the sight and retired into the women's apartment (*C.H.I*) We don't know whether or when it was brought back from the Deccan and buried beside his body in his tomb at Ajmer.

142. The letters giving the information of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's murder and reassuring and urging all to join the imperial forces were written almost in identical terms shortly after the formal Court.

143 This notorious plunderer who robbed his friends and foes alike found an excellent opportunity of promoting his own interest and of hitting at the imperialists indirectly He managed to get an audience on 2 October, 1720, and secured permission to guide or misguide the imperial forces through a difficult route where water was scarce.

144. He was raised to the rank of 7,000.

145. Ja'far Beg entitled *Sābit Jang*, a protege of Khān-i-daurān had joined the imperialists about a month before the battle of Hasanpūr. He took active part in the battle

and was rewarded with promotion in his rank to 5,000. As the *Faujdār* of Sikandārābād which was the capital of *Pargana* in Kheri District of Uttar Pradesh, eighteen miles west from Lakhimpūr, he had led a successful expedition against Fataḥ Singh, the rebellious *Zamīndār* of Katehar or Katesar (?) of *Pargana* Kol (modern Alīgarh) who with his 1,000 Mewātīs indulged in plundering activities.

146. He died of wounds received in the battle of Ḥasanpūr on 23 June, 1722.

147. He was a *Tūrānī* noble and was connected by marriage with Muḥammad Amīn Khān. He had been patronized by Zulfaqār Khān who got him appointed as *Mīr Ātish* as also the *Ṣūbadār* of Lahore with the rank of 7,000/7,000. He held the post of governor of Lahore and the Punjab for a long time during which period he defeated and captured Banda. He died in A D 1722. For references in his successful expedition against Ḥusain 'Alī Khweshgī of Kasūr who had been instigated by 'Abdullāh Khān, see *S.M T.M*, *B.M.* and *T.S.C.*

148. See L M; II, pp. 6ff. He died fighting bravely with his cousin, Dayā Bahādur against the Marhattas in the battle of Amjhera in November, 1728 He rejected the overtures of Jai Singh, the supporter and friend of the Marhattas, to promote the cause of the revivalists because perhaps he and his relations were thinking of carving out an independant principally for their own family.

149. According to Irvine (L M., II, p 66) the news was received by him on 9 October 1720 at *Sarāi* Chāth about fortyeight miles north-west of Agra. Khāfī Khān, Khushhāl Chand, and Muḥammad 'Alī give a different date and place.

150. Irvine says that Sītā Rām accompanied by Shajā'atullāh Khān, the son-in-law of 'Abdullāh Khān, was sent to Delhi to consult and instruct Najmud-dīn 'Alī Khān. The latter tried to set up a puppet king from among the princes and selected prince Muḥammad Ibrāhīm youngest son of Rafī'u sh-Shān from his wife Nūrun-nisā Begam, the mother of the earlier two royal brothers.

151. *Sultān* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was born in A.H. 1109 (1697-8), enthroned on 11 *Zul-hijja.* 1132 2 October, 1720. He died at the age of 40 in A.H. 1152/1739. The legend on his coin was :"
Sikka Zad Dar Jahān ba Fazl-i-Karīm. Shāh-i-Shāhān Muhammad Ibrāhīm."
152. Two days after the enthronement of *Sultān* Ibrāhīm, 'Abdullāh Khān reached Delhi, dug up Ratan Chand's hoarded wealth, and disbursed about one crore of rupees in enlisting men from all classes, Jāts Mewātīs, and Rājpūts.
153. Khushḥāl Chand, Muhammad 'Alī Ansārī and others have derisively and satirically referred to the hastily and recklessly recruited wretches and to the dislike and disgust felt by old veterans at being put on a level with them. "Notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal domestics and officiais in the train of Sultān Ibrāh*im* rode horses with no saddles" (*M.L.*).
154 Aḥmad Beg entitled Ghāziu,d-dīn Khān *Ghālib Jang* was a foster brother of Jahāndār Shāh and held the rank of 6,000 *zāt*/5,000 *suwār* which was now raised to 7,000 *zāt*/ 7,000 *suwār*. He was dragged out of his self-imposed retirement. Amīnu'd-dīn Khān Sambhalī tried in vain to wean him away, but he stuck to his resolve to side with, and fight for Sultan Ibrāhīm
155. This list does not include an important adherent, a member of the *Tūrānī* order, Ḥamīd Khān called *Janglī Shāhzāda* (rustic prince) who was the son of the half brother of Nizāmu'l-mulk's father, Ghāzīu'd-dīn *Firoz Jang* Wayward, inconstant and headstrong he had detached himself from his cousin, Muhammad Amīn Khān, and had joined 'Addullāh Khān. He was afterwards pardoned and appointed by Niẓāmu'l-mulk as his *Nā'ib* in Gujarat in which province he played an important role and was responsible for the entry and strengthening of the hold of the Marhattas in that key province. He died after a mateoric but inglorious career in 1727. A.D.
156. Just before the decisive battle, the Emperor was encamped at Hasanpur and 'Abdullāh Khān was about five or six

miles further north east at Bilochpūr, a village on the Jamuna Between Mathura and Delhi. Hasanpur was the field of the battle that began in the morning of 3 November 1720 and ended next day in the complete victory of the imperialists.

157. *Qaṣba* Kaman was in *Sarkār* Sahar of Agra District, and had been reached on 19 October.

158. Muḥammad Khān Bangash was much indebted to the Sayyids but he backed out, and was later won over and induced to fight against his former friend. (*L.M.* II, P. 70)

159. *Ibid*, pp. 70-71. These names have been spelt differently in different *mss*. In the *Āin*, we get Pali, Bawan, and Sarah as villages in *Sarkār* of Khairābād of the Awadh *Sūba*. Khāirābād was a *Pargana* of Sitapur *Taḥṣil*, twenty miles long, north and south, and eleven miles in width. The chief town of the *Pargana* was fiftyseven miles north-west of Lakhnow on the metalled road to Shājahānpur. Sandila, a town midway between Lakhnow and Hardoi, thirtytwo miles from the former, and thrity-four miles from the latter.

160. Khemā Jāt had been besieged earlier by Dilwār 'Alī Khān in November, 1719 in his stronghold of Fatḥābād.

161. Muhkam Singh and others such as Khudādād Khān, Khān Mirzā, and others had come over to the side of 'Abullāh Khān in the night between 12fth and 13th November

162. For details of the battle see *L.M.*, II, pp. 85 ff.

163 According to Irvine (*L.M.*, II, p. 87) one of the reasons that led to the disaster for 'Abdullāh Khān was the change that he made in his line of advance in order to get at Sayyid Nusrat Yār Khān against whom he had a special grudge for having sided with the imperialist although he was a relative of the Sayyid Brothers. This move resulted in his being drawn away from the river. This change in the position affected him in another way. Many of his men found an opportunity to desert on plea of going out to quench their thirst.

164. The two brothers, 'Abdullāh and Najmu'd-dīn 'Alī, were taken captive and brought before the Emperor by Ḥaidar Qulī under whose charge they were put (*L.M.* II, pp. 91-92). Two years later, 'Abdullāh Khān was transferred from the charge of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, and soon after his Mughal guards, being allegedly incited by the Nizām (B.M.), administered poision in his food and he died, aged about fifty on 30 September, 1722.

165. Khushhāl Chand writes that as the day broke, Sultān Ibrāhīm reached the *Takya* (the abode of a *faqīr*) of a *Darwesh* at Nekpur and asked for water. He offered to the *faqīr* four gold coins, and the latter began to prepare food for him. In the meanwhile, his pursuers arrived, and he allowed himself to be carried off by them to the Emperor.

166 Shiv Dās alone, unlike many of the contemporary writers, has noticed this in addition to many other small incidents.

167. The great *Diwān* of Bengal and a great favourite of Aurangzeb continued to govern that *sūba* with great success devotion and loyalty to the Timurid House till his death in 1727 A D. 'Aẓīmush-Shān's attempts to discredit him in the eyes of Aurangzeb and later, to displace him by Farrukhsiyar through his agents, Muhammad Riza and Mirzā Ja'far, had been foiled.

168. The *jizya* had been levied on the *Zimmīs* (protected non-Muslims) ever since the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sindh in 711 A.D; and the exemption to which the Brahmans or priestly class were entiled, had for some undiscribed reasons been done away with by Firoz Shāh Tughluq Akbar, not being content with exempting only the Hindū personnel in military service, ordered its total abolition. Aurangzeb reimposed it. Unlike the Tūrānīs, the Irānīs and most of the Hindustānī Muslims disfavoured its continuation, and Zu'lfaqār Khān and the Sayyid Brothers practically got it abolished during their period of domination in the centre. Earlier efforts of 'Ināya-

tullāh Khān Kashmiri, of Nizāmu'l-mulk and of Muhammad Amīn Khān to bring it back failed, and Rājā Jai Singh and Gridhar Bahādur got the final imperial sanction for the complete abolition of the hated poll-tax through out the empire The first pleaded the cause of the Hindū businessmen who had gone on complete strike against Muhammad Amīn Khān's order. The second recalled the promises and assurances given by the former rulers to his uncle, Rājā Chabela Rām. The pursuasive arguments ascribed to Rājā Jai Singh by Shiv Dās and Khushhāl Chand's statement that 'Abdu's Samad Khān, a Tūrānī noble, hailed the abolition, and that Jai Singh offered most of the *mahāls* and *jāgirs* of his *zamindārī* in lieu of *jizya* raise serious doubts with regard to the veracity of these statements.

169 Kāmwar Khān refers to 'Niranjan *Darwesh*' who was scourged, flogged and imprisoned by Muhammad Amīn Khān. The Emperor, however, took a very liberal view. He called the *majzūb faqir*, and after giving him some gold *muhrs*, allowed him to go. Our superstitious historian throw a hint of Divine retribution and connects the *faqīr's* death with the brutalities committed by him. He died on 17th January 1721. The *wizārat* of Muhmmad Amīn Khān barely lasted for three months and twenty-two days.

170. This very capable and honest *Mīr Munshi* of Aurangzeb, whom even the English eulogized as a 'bitter enemy to bribery', had to leave for Mecca after giving up his responsible job in the State, being disgusted with the unjust execution of his son, Hidāyatullāh who was the *Khān-i-sāmān* and a *Panjhazāri*, at the instance of Mīr Jumla. Farrukhsiyar repented, and on his return from Mecca, persuaded him, with some difficulty, to accept the office of *Diwān-i-khāliśa* and *Diwān-i-tan* on April, 1717. One of his acts was to reimpose the *jizya* and examine the office record (*Āwārija* or account books) and the descriptive roll (*Taujih*) to set the finances in order He was bitterly opposed by Ratan Chand, the all powerful personal

Secretary of 'Abdullāh Khān. On the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān he was called upon to fill up the stop-gap arrangement of the *Wizārat*, pending the arrival of Niẓāmu'l-mulk. He was also appointed absentee Governor of Kashmir where he was succeeded, after his death on 19 December 1721, by his son, Āyatullāh Khān called Ināyatullāh, II.

171. He was the maternal grandfather of historians, Muhammad 'Alī Ansārī and Shākir Khān. He has been much eulogized by Khushhal Chand. He was entitled *'Izzatu'd-daulāh Safdar Jang*, and was elevated to the rank of 6,000 *ẓāt*/6,000 suwār on 12 April, 1721, and he was appointed *Sūbadār* of Multan in place of 'Aqīdat Khān, a brother of Amīr Khān who was sent to Bihar in place of Nuṣrat Yār Khān Bārha. He died on 3rd October, 1731.

172. Khushhal Chand Nardak was among the *tawābe* (dependencies) of *Dāru'l-Khilāfat* (Delhi). When the imperial army arrived in the *Pargana* of Kharkhoda the unnamed rebel lost heart and fled away. Kharkhoda has been mentioned in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, but Nardak and Barhula referred to by Khushhāl Chand do not find a place in it.

173. He was the most favoured and the bravest of the numerous *chelas* of muhammad Khān Bangash He was a Bundela convert. He had driven away the Bundelas who had earlier plundered Kalpi. On 15 May 1721, Chattarsāl advanced with nearly 30,000 horse and artillery and surprised, overwhelmed and killed Diler Khān who had boldly advanced with only 500 to face him. According to the auther of S.M. Diler Khan had 1000 men with him whom 700 or 800 were killed with him.

174. The authors of *S.M.* and *B.M.* say that it was at Saudah (Sehand ?) Maudah (Hamirpur, 20 miles from the town) that the unequal combat occurred. Diler Khān lies buried in village Maudah. The name in the text may be read as Bunda or Muhands.

175. 1 *Ramaẓān*, 1133, year 3 of accession corresponding to the 15th June, 1721.

176. Hidāyatullāh *alias* Nuṣrat Yār Khān, entitled *Ruknu'd-daulāh*, a *haft hazāri*, (having a rank of ·7000), was a resident of village Kathaura in Muzaffarnagar District in Uttar Pradesh. He had been appointed Governor of Bihār which he ruled through his deputy at Patna named 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān. In the government of Bihar he had been preceded by Khān-i-zamān (12 February, 1718 to 24 June, 1722), and was followed by Mirzā Ja'far, entitled *'Aqīdat Khān*, who fell ill after some months, and left the government of Bihar to his brother, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, entitled Marhamt Khān. Marḥamat Khān died in Bihar on 14 September, 1725 after a scuffle with 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān. Nusrat Yār Khān died in Delhi on 25 June, 1722.

177. A capable member of the Mughal civil service, Gūjar Mal was appointed as *Dīwān-i-khalṣa* on 11 April, 1722, an office which had been held by the Sharafu'd-daulāh and after him by Rājā Bakhtmal who had been made *Dīwān-i tan* as early as on 12 June, 1714. He was a Saksena Kāyastha who after a long and distinguished service died at the age of eighty while he was reading out in the open Court his well-prepared report favouring the scheme of reforms of Niẓāmu'l-mulk. This occured on 26 January, 1723. With his death ended the hopes of the restoration of good government, and the Niẓām left for the Deccan.

178. Rāi Ganjaman is different from *Rā'i-Rāyān* Ganjman, the son of Rājā Gūjar Mal, who had succeeded his father on his death in the year 5 as *Dīwān-i-khālṣa Sharīfa*. The historian, Khushhāl Chand, tells us about Lāl Ganjman, the worthy father, son of a worthy Lal Mahārāj, who was the brother's son of the better known Rā'i Bhog Chand, a Srivastava Kayastha, who served as clerk of the *Dīwān-i-khālisa*, and died on 2 March, 1737, aged fifty. When Lāl Maharāj was *Peshdāst* his son, Lāl Ganjman was *Huẓūr nawis* (private secretary), and on his father's death, in the year 23 of Muhammad Shāh's reign, he succeeded to his office as *Peshdast* of the *Khāliṣa*. Khushhāl Chand praises Lāl Ganjman highly,

playing upon the five letters of his name, indicating the qualities of his head and heart.

179. Festivities (*Jashn*) were held to celebrate the commencement of accession called *Jashn-i-Julūs*. The birthday festivities were called *Jashn-i-sālgirāh*. Besides, there were celebrations also of *'Īdain* (*'Īdu'l fitr* and *'Īdu'z-zuḥa* (*'id-i-azha*). As regards *Jashn-i Nauroz* it had been celebrated in India ever since the time of Balban, for, Amīr Khusrow has referred to it in many places in his book, *I'jaz-i-khusrawi*. Nauroz or the New Year's Day, according to Persian calendar fell on the way when the Sun entered Aries. This was called *'Āmma* or general, and it initiated a week of festivities which terminated on the 6th or 7th day after the vernal equinox which was termed *Khāṣṣa* or *Nauroz-i-Buzurg*. Both *'Āmma* and *Khāṣṣa* days, and those in between, were celebrated in Persia and India with feasts, enjoyments, conferment of rewards, presents and gifts. According to the author of *S M*. *Jashn-i Nauroz* was celebrated according to the old practice on 10 March, 1722.

180. 9th *Shawwāl*, year 3 of *A.H.* 1133 corresponds with 27 July, 1721. The text says that it was year 3 corresponding to A H. 1132 which meant 3 August, 1720.

181. The Authors of *T.M.* and *B M*. refer to the *Jashn* commencing on the 9th *Shawwāl* year 3, and say that Shāhjahān's *Takh-i-tā'ūs* cost one crore and a few lakhs. Shākir Khān mentions one crore one lakh one thousand one hundred and one rupee. Ānand Rām Mukhlis is more precise and informative and he writes that this famous thorne of Shāhjahān was built by Badal Khān and was completed after fifteen years of labour at the cost of one crore and fifteen lakhs in A.D. 1632, and that on the days of festivities it was set up in the mansion of forty pillars, and also in the *Dīwān-i-ām* of the Fort. It was taken to Persia by Nādir Shāh and could be seen at Mashhad in 1747 A.D.. The figure given Shiv Dās, though interesting is unconvincing.

182. It was at the instance of the elder Sayyid whom he had wronged so much, that Mīr Jumla was sent as *Qāẓi* of Lahore. Subsequently he was made *Ṣadr* on 21 October 1719, and retained the office till his death in 1732. A.D. According to the author of *B.M.* the total amount of *nazr* (presents) offered on the occasion of the *Jashn*, grants of *In'āms* (gifts, rewards) to the attendants of the Palace, scholars and pious people, on musical parties, and on awards of robes of honour was Rs. one lakh.

183. For biographical details and an account of the misdeeds of 'Abdu'l Ghafūr and his son, see *L.M.*, II pp. 267-70, 273-5.

184. Fatima, the wife of *Hazrat* 'Alī and the daughter of Prophet Muhammad is deemed to be the progenitor of Sayyids of the world. She is held in highest veneration by Muslims just as Maryam or Maria, the mother of Jesus Christ, is venerated by the Christians.

185. Khwāja 'Ibādullāh was the father-in-law of Muhammad Shāh. Khwāja 'Abdul-Mu'izz and probably Khwāja Himāyatullāh, also mentioned here, were his brothers According to Kāmwar Khān, the first two were raised to the respective ranks of 7,000/6,000 and 7000/5,000 and were granted special robes and the highest honour of *Māhi-o-marātib*, *'Alam* (standard) and *Naqqāra* or drum.

186. Maḥaldār Khan was the *Nāẓir-i-mushkū'i-iqbāl* (head supervisor of the auspicious Palace). He and Momin Yār Khān who was in charge of the household expenses (*buyūtāt*) have been praised highly by Khushḥāl Chand who has described them as saintly personages They died in the same year 16, (1736 A D.)

187. Rājā Lachhī Rām had been raised to the *manṣab* of 2,000/5,000 and he served as the *Peshkār-i-Naẓārat* (secretary to the judicial department). The historian, Khushḥāl Chand says that for his work he was indebted to certain selections (*Muntakhabāt*) which Lāla Nunit Rai, *Peshdast* or head, one of the brothers of Rājā Lachhī Rām had supplied to him.

188. He was the Rājā of Kishangarh, an important person who figured prominently in the battle of Hasanpūr and on other occasions also. But we know very little about him except that he had been elevated to the rank of 7,000/7,000 and was also recipient of *Māhi-o-marātib* which was counted to be the highest honour in imperial hierarchy

189. Ṭāli' Yār Khān has been described by Kāmwar Khān as the *Mushrif* (Inspector) of *Diwān-i-khāṣ* who in October, 1720 let out Azīzu'r Rahmān and other sons of the deceased *Dārogha-i-'Adālat 'Ālia* (High Court of Justice), 'Izzat Khān, from their house of mourning Tali' Yār Khān, had played an important role in the battle of Hasanpūr by attacking Shaikh Salla, the *Dārogha* of 'Abdullah Khān's artillery.

190 *Hakīmu'l-mamalik* 'Alawī Khān, a highly skilled Persian physician was also a notable political figure in the Court of Muhammad Shāh and Ahmad Shāh He served as the medium of diplomatic channel between the eastern regions and the imperial Court. He has been frequently mentioned by Rājā Rām Narāin, Deputy Governor of Bihār in his letters (*Dastūru'l-Inshā*) The authors of *Bayān-i-Wāqai* and *S.M.* also write much about him. He was an elderly kinsman of Nawwāb Muẓaffar Jang of Bengal. According to Kāmwar Khān he had been appointted *Bakāwal* (Superintendent of the Kitchen) by Muhammad Shāh in place of Mahdī Qulī Khān and was afterwards replaced in that office by Khawās Khān *Khuld Manzili* (*Bahadur Shahī*).

191. Kāmwar Khān tells us about Jawahir Khān, the *Darogha-i-Jawāhir Khāna-i-khāṣ* (Superintendent of the special jewellery house) who died in August, 1719. *Hāfiẓ* Ya'qūb Khān was appointed in his place to the vacant post How could he figure in July, 1721? But Kāmwar Khān refers to another Jawāhir Khān without indicating the office he held.

192. Bū 'Alī Khān, mentioned both by the authors of *S.M.* and *T.S.*, was at one time *Qur Begi* (head of aromoury)

and at another the *Bakhshi-i-ahadiyān* (Pay master of the gentlemen troopers, as distinct from *Wālā Shahian* or house-hold troops). He was also *Mushrif-i-Farrāsh Khāna* (superviser of the carpet house).

193. Jabbār Qulī Khān was one of the four *Mingbashīs* of *Topkhāna* (captain of the royal artillery).

194. 'Azīmu'llāh entitled Zahīru'd-daulāh was a *Tūrānī* noble, brother's son and son-in-law of Muhammad Amīn Khān Chin. He was appointed to Mālwa in place of Gridhar in June, 1724; fought and repulsed the Marhattas on more than one occasion between A.D. 1732-37; led a successful expedition against Daranath and his Sikh and Jāt allies in Sirhind; appointed *Sadr*, fell from favours, fled and was captured; interned in his house, died on 10 February 1732

195. Khwāja 'Abdullāh, a *Haft Hazārī*, entitled *Sharafu'd-daulāh Irādatmand Khān Sādiq Tahawwar Jang*, was the brother's son and son-in-law of the celebrated scholar, Mullā Wajīh He was put in command of the imperial force against Ajīt Singh which was joined by the highest grandees such as Jai Singh, Muhammad Khān Bangash, Gridhar Bahādur.

196. Saifullāh Khān Bahādur 'Alamgīrī was *Dārogha-i-Dāgh-o tashiha* (superintendent of department of branding and verification) Later he was appointed to the office of the fourth *Bakhshī* in place of 'Aqīdat Khān who was sent to Bihār, his brother, 'Aqīdatmand Khān having been already sent to Sasaram as *Faujdār* This happened in September 1721.

197. Allāhwardī Khān entitled *Mu'taqidu'd-daulāh* (supporter of the state) was *qarāwal begī* (chief huntsman)

198 A fabulous bird of omen peculiar to the East It is believed that if its shadow falls on anyone he will wear a crown.

199. The word is not clear in any of the *mss*

200. Kāmyāb Khān and Dārāb Khān were two sons of Jān Nisār Khān the elder. Kāmyāb Khān had fought against 'Ālam 'Alī Khān at Bālāpur and was wounded.

201 A'zam Khān was the patron of Murlidhar, *alias* Sridhari the author of *Jangnāma* who mentions him in the following verses (a) *Azam Khan Bakhsi Jahain-Sabh Samuheen Ayee Tahain* (b) *Azam Khan Taso Birhai-Saff Jung Jor Amir Hai* (c) *Azam Khan Baksi Bisala Bala Charnoo Saje Chaturanga Deha Dala* (See my article in Urdu monthly *Ma'āsir*, Patna, April-September, 1942). He held the Government of Thatha when he was replaced in *Sha'bān'* A H 1132/June 1720 He was again appointed *Sūbadār* of Thatha in regnal year 5 of Muhammad Shāh.

202 Mīr Muhammad Ibrāhīm *alias* Marhamat Khān was the third son of Amīr Khān Kābulī. He had offended Husain Ālī Khān and had been superseded in the government of Mandu by Khwāja Quli Khān. The Nizām continued to retain his services and employed him for ejecting Jai Chand Bundela of Rāmgarh. He died while he was the Governor of Patna (Bihār) on 24 Septemeber, 1725 aged forty five

203. Newdah or Banudeh is not traceable

204. Monsieur Martin was a French physician who was called several times to attend upon the Emperor He was present earlier in Bahādur Shāh's reign at the time of the Dutch Embassy He died at Delhi in June 1728

205. Sadru'd-din Muhammad Khān Koka was elevated in October, 1720 to the rank of 4,000/4,000 and was entiled Kokaltāsh Khān He was also favoured with a grant 5,00,000 rupees, two elephants, two horses and allowed to use *'Alam* and *Naqqāra*

206. *Kokaltāsh Khān* was a brother of *Raushanu'd-daulāh* Zafar Khān and held the rank of 5,000/5,000 and also the post of *Qūrbegī* (keeper of arsenal). Earlier he was *Dārogha* of *Qūrkhāna* (armory or wardrobe) The love of Nūr Bāi, a favourite of the Emperor, for him cost him

his title, rank and office. Later, he was pordoned on the recommendation of Isḥāq Khān. He passed his last days in the Court of Shujāu'd-daulāh of Awadh.

207 Fazl 'Alī Khān was the *Dārogha-i-Fīl Khāna* (elephant stable).

208. Muhammad Rahīm Koka of *Shāh-i-'Āla* held a rank of 4,000/2,000.

209. Shāista Khān was the maternal uncle of Farrukhsiyar. His properties were confiscated by the Sayyid Brothers after the deposition of the Emperor. See also *L M*; I, pp. 144, 304.

210. Tarbiyat Khān had been favoured by Muhammad Shāh with the rank of 5,000/2,000 and was appointed *Darogha Fil Khāna* on 13 November, 1720 This office was later on held by Fazl 'Alī Khān

211. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Beg Khān, Jānish Khān, 'Arab 'Alī Khān have been described by Kāmwar Khān as the followers of Qamaru'd-dīn Khān. Kāmwar Khān tells us that 'Arab 'Alī Khān, Jan Nisār Khān, Sardār Khān had each been exalted by Muhammad Shāh with the rank of 4,000/2,000.

212. Muhammad Isḥāq Khān who was later entitled *Mu'tamin-ud-daulāh* was a worthy favourite of Muhammad Shāh. He was born in India, though his father was a native of Shirāz (in Persia), and had come and settled in Delhi. He was introduced by Muhammad Shāh to Nādir as his tutor (*Atālīq*) in childhood. He was a man of great ability and integrity and was a good poet. He died on 18 April, 1740.

Muhammad Ishāq was also the original name of Amīr Khān, Anjum, the son of Amīr Khān Kābulī.

213. Yār Muhammad Koka was foster-brother or nurse's Son. He was given the title of *Koka Khān* and was elevated by Muhammad Shāh to the rank of 4,000/3,000.

214. Kāmwar Khān refers to Mīr Ḥasan Koka who had been given the rank of 3,000/2,000

215. Allāh or Ilāh Yār Khān has been described as *Khuldkmānī* (i.e *Ālamgīrī*) by Kāmwar Khān.

216. Mirzā 'Āqil Beg *Kambalposh* (blanket-wearer), an Indian born veteran warrior, and one of the sincerest followers of Samsāmu'd-daulāh, was destined to make a name by fighting as the bravest of the brave at the battle of Karnal in A.D 1739.

217. Kāmwar Khān tells us about Ḥamīdu'd-dīn 'Alī Khān Bahādur who had been appointed *Faujdār* of Rohtās in *Muharram* A H. 1132, and also about Hamīdu'd-dīn Khān who had replaced Sayyid Salābat Khān Bahādur as *Dārogha-i-'Arz-i-mukarrar* (Superintendent of the office of the confirmation of orders or of Revision or renewal of petitions)

218. Sipāhdār Khān was the son of *'Azzu'd-daulāh Khān-i-'Ālam* and had been appointed *Dārogha of 'Arz-i-mukarrar* in place of Hamīdu'd-dīn Khān in *Sha'bān* A.H. 1132

219. Khwās Khān *Khuldmanzilī* (*Bahādur Shāhī*) had been appointed *Bakāwal* in place of *Hākim* 'Alavi Khān Khwās Khān has been mentioned a *Dārogha-i-Khāssa* (dinner, particularly king's meals)

220 Son of Mīr Musharraf Lakhnawi, already noticed earlier in the text. His *alias* was Mīr Kallū.

221. 'Alī Ahmad Khān one of the sons of Jān Muhammad who posed as a *Munajjim* (astrologer) and *Darwesh*, and brother of the famous *Koki Jiu* and of 'Alī Ḥamīd Khān, *Dārogha-i-dāk* (post). See Āshūb for an account of the family.

222. Abu'l-Hasan, Sayyid Ṣalābat Khān Ḥusainī *Mujāhid Jang* who has been frequently mentioned in the *Annals of Bengal* in connection with Surman Embasssy and other matter, was a *Manṣabdār* of 4,000/3,000, held many

offices such as the *Dārogha* of royal *Tōpkhāna Mīr-i-Ātish*, *'Azr-i-mukarrar'* first *Bakhshī*; died on 17 June, 1724. He should not be confused with Ṣalābat Khān, son of Sa'ādat Khān. Another Ṣalābat Khān has been mentioned as the *Faujdār* of Narnaul (*T.S C.*).

223. Tahauwur Khān, formerly Raḥmat Khān, son of Mutahauwir Khān Khweshgī was a *Wālāshāhī* of *Tūrānī* race. He died in 1743-44 A.D

224. Saif Khān, son of Amīr Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Tajpur Purneah (*T.S.C.*). He had a rank of 2,000/1,000 (gentlemen troopers).

225. Khwāja Bakhtāwar Khān was replaced in April, 1719 by Kāmwar Khān, the histroian, as *Dārogha-i-Khizāna-i-ahadiyān* (superintendent of accounts of the gentlemen troopers), was oppointed to this office on 16 March 1719. He was subsequently appointed *Dārogha-i-Bāwarchi khāna* (kitchen).

226. There were more than one Jān Nisār Khān The one mentioned here was originally named Dārāb Khān, later Jān Nisār Khān He was probobly the brother of Sholapuri Begam, wife of Qamaru'd-dīn Khān. During the seven years of his *faujdārī* of Kora Jahānābād in Allahābād *Sūba*, he miserably mismanaged things and alienated many Hindūs, particularly Bhagwant Singh Adāru who murdered him, plundered his property, and dishonoured the female members of his family in maich, 1732

227. Shafī'u'd-dīn Khān, Qarrā Khān, 'Arab 'Alī Khān, Jabbār Qulī Khān, Nauroz 'Alī Khān were the *Mingbāshis*, each of whom was granted *Khil'at* (robes of honour) in the fourth year, A.H. 1132, after the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.

228. Sarbarāh Khān was the *Kotwāl* of Delhi who in association with Ibrāhīm Khān, *Mīr Ātish*, was put in charge of the execution of Banda, his three years old son and his Sikh captive followers on the 15th March, 1716.

229. He is 'Alavī Khān the *Hakīmu'l-mamālik*, already referred to above.

230. Ahliyat Khān was the son of Khudā Quwwat Khān. He was appointed *Amīr-i-zanān khāna* (officer-in-charge of the female apartments). He was later appointed to the office of the fifth *Mīr Tūzaki* (officer in charge of preserving order in march or procession).

231. The author of *T M* and *B.M* who was the grandson of Lutfullāh Khān Sādiq says that the latter after serving as *Diwān-khālisa* for two years and six months in the reign of Farrukhsiyar was compelled by the hostility of 'Abdullāh Khān to leave the Court and retire to his home, Panīpat But he returned to Delhi at the end of February, 1721 and was granted a robe of honour, was entitled *Shamsu'd-daulāh* and was elevated to the rank of 6,000.

232. When after the battle of Hasanpūr the imperial army wended its way towards the capital and encamped on the tank of Kishandās on 9 November, 1720 Riza Wafā Khān, Saif Khān and Barkhurdār Khān came and offered their *nazr* (presents) to the Emperor (*T.S C.*).

233. Māyā Rām was the *Munshi-i-Topkhāna* (Secretary or clerk of the artillery department) of Haidar Qulī Khān.

234 Sanjar Khān and Shamshīr Khān, both veteran warriors of Lakhnow, have been frequently mentioned in the text. Perhaps both were Da'ūdzai Afghans. Sanjar Khān had been raised to the rank of 5,000 for his services as an effective sentinal of imperial highways (*'Ibrat Maqāl*) and he died at Delhi in February, 1724.

235. Kāmwar Khān says that Dāwardād Khān, Saif Khān, Razban Khān, Sharāfat Khān, received robes of honour after the battle of Hasanpūr. Dāwardād Khān was *Dārogha-i-gurzbardārān* (mace-bearers) and Khudādād Khān, the *Karori* of *Dāgh-o-tashiha*, was perhaps his brother.

236. Shiv Dās alone has noticed the incident relating to the rebel Singha or Sankha Gaur, a Rājpūt *Zamindār* of Kheri and Laharpur in Sītāpūr District of the old N.W.P. During the anarchy that ensued after the death of Aurangzeb. Chander Sen, the ancestor of the Thākurs, who later entered the fold of Islām invaded Sītāpūr. He was a Gaur and belonged to a Chhattri Rājpūt tribe. Kheri District lay at the extreme north of N.W.P. Laharpur was a *Pargana* of *Tahṣil* Sītāpūr, bounded on the north by Kheri, in the east and south by Benares and in the west by Khairābād was the chief town of a *pargana* of the same name, five miles south eastward from Sītāpūr, and forty-seven miles north-west of Lakhnow.

237a. The name of the village has been spelt differently in different manuscripts Sadrpur has been described in the Awadh Gazetteer as a *Pargana* of *Tahsīl* Bari in the District of Sītāpūr, thirty miles south-east of Sītāpūr. It was so called because *Sadr-i-Jahān* of Akbar's reign had founded it in 1567.

237b Those who deny the existence of antipathy and conflicts between the two major communities before the advent of the Europeans have to ponder over the numerous incidents of religious fanaticism, riots and disturbances The Hindū-Muslim riot in Gujarat under Dāwud Khān and Shi'a-Sunnī riot started by Mustawī Khān in Kashmir can not be easily glossed over.

238. The author of *B.M.* says that Khānazād Khān, after settling the affairs of Peshawar, was returning to his father when he was overtaken by the Afghāns on the same spot where Muhammad Amīn, son of Mun'im Khān, the *Wazir* of Bahādur Shāh, had earlier been plundered and over—whelmed by a large crowd of Afghān inhabitants. Khānazād's veteran warrior, Shaikh Mujāhid *Jama'dār*, was taken captive. Khānazād himself was wounded, but managed to escape. 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf tells us that the fighting took place near Attock.

239. An eminent and very skilled physician who came from Shirāz showed his inventive bent of mind by devising a new and peculiar type of boat which had been completed under the guidance of his brother, and has been described as a curiosity by the author of *B.M.* The young Emperor was very fond of such things. Kāmwar Khān tells us about Gulzār *Firangi* who constructed a *Takhta-i-masnu'* (an artificial board of wainscot) so beautifully and artfully painted as to excel the arts of Mani and Bihzād; and for this the European artist was given a rank of 2,000 and also a *jāgir* and a robe of honour

240. He was the eunuch, in charge of *Qahwa Khāna* (coffee-house) who in the time of Ahmad Shāh became the all powerful Nawwāb Jāwed Khān Bahādur, and was treacherously disposed of by Safdar Jang, the Nawwāb *Wazīr* of Awadh

241. Muhammad Yār Khān, the daughter's son of Asad Khān Asaf Jāh, the *Wazīr* of Aurangzeb, was the *Qal'adār* of the metropolitan fort

242. Kāmwar Khān mentions the names of those who held the *faujdāri* of Sikandarābād such as Sayyid Kabīr, Khwāja 'Abdu'r Rahīm (who had replaced Sābit Khān). Sayyid Kabīr was also *Amīn* and he held the rank of 5,000/5,000 in the third regnal year

243. Some have identified it with Rohilkhand in Murādābād District

244. Amānat Khān entitled Mubāriz Khān Bahādur *Hizabr Jang* the *Sūbādār* of Golconda, was a native of Balkh. He was a son-in-law of 'Ināyatullāh Khān Kashmīrī He once served under Prince Kām Bakhsh. He had also served under Nizāmu'l-mulk in the Deccan but was later on persuaded to fight against him.

245 He was entitled Fakhru'd-daulāh and he served for a long time (six years from A.D 1727 to 1733) as the Governor of Bihār. He had been preceded in the Government of

Bihar by the sons of Amīr Khān Kābulī namely 'Aqīdat Khān, Marhamat Khan, Bāqir 'Alī Khān, and Hādī 'Alī Khān who came one after the other in the stop-gap arrangement made after the departure of Khān-i-zamān 'Alī Asghar Khān, the son of Kārtalab Khān, a Mewātī Ansārī *Khānzāda*. The latter had been superseded by Sarbaland Khān on 22 *Rabi'* I, 1130 *A H.* 12 February, 1718.

246. Khoja Zumurrad was a *Khwāja Sarā* or eunuch and served as the *Nā'ib* to Mahaldār who was in charge of the *Nazārat* of the royal Palace He had played some part on the day of the assassination of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, in reward of which title of Khān, and the rank of 2,000/2,000 was granted to him.

247. See foot-note 105 above

248 Shahāranpur is bounded on the north by the Siwalik Hills, and on the east by the Ganges which separates it from Bijnaur and Muzaffarnagar

249 Rājā Jugal Kishore son of Rai Bālkishan was the *Wakīl* of Nawwāb Ja'far Khān *alias* Murshid Qulī Khān of Bengal at the Court. He was succeeded by his son Rājā Jugal Kishore who figured prominently on the occasion of Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi and wrote an eye-witness account of the massacre.

250 Khān-i-jahān may be identified with a grandee of Akbar's Court. He was appointed Governor of Lahore in the Panjab in 1575, but four years later, in 1579, he had to yeild place to Rājā Mān Singh Kachchawāha.

251. For details, see *L.M* , II, pp. 108 ff.

252. The detailed account given by Shiv Dās is not to be found elsewhere. He alone refers to Daipur, a colony of the Sayyids, just east of Kannauj and close to the Ganges and what is more important, tells us about the meagre amount sanctioned for the expenses of the governor-designate and much of which remained unpaid. He differs

from other authorities who say that Sayyid Muzaffar Khān himself led plundering raids in some of the villages, but his starving troops appropriated all the plundered properties in lieu of arrears of their pay. However, his account of the seizure of 20,000 cattle and their slipping away does not seem to be very convincing.

253. Chūrāman, nephew of Rājā Rām, was a shrewed and unscruplous Jāt chieftain. He was a great leader and a plunderer too (he dug out Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and burnt his bones) see also *L.M.*, Vols, I and II The circumstances leading to his death given by Shiv Dās are new and interesting.

254. *Cf. L M.*, II, p 110. The incident sharply brought out many evidences of the imbecility, factious spirit and mutual rivalry of the Court nobles. Complaints of the Rājā's tyranny and religious intolerance had been pouring in; the Rājā's deputy in Gujarāt had been attacked and expelled after great slaughter by the Mughal deputy, but his hold on Ajmer, so sacred for the Muslims because of the innumerable shrines, particularly that of *Hazrat* Mu'inu'd-dīn Chishti, which they venerated so much, appeared to be unshakable Samsāmu'd-daulāh was ordered to proceed against him, but the carpet-knight played on the fears of the Emperor and advised him to accommodate the Rājā but the Emperor proved unrelenting and Samsāmu'd-daulāh was ordered to march, but he finally backed out. Haidar Qulī Khān had volunteered to act as the head of the advance guard of the army, but he found few to join him. Peremptory order was sent to Sa'adat Khān summoning him from Akbarābād He lost no time in arriving at the Court. The Court dominated by his rival, Samsāmu'd-daulāh, would not provide him with troops and many of the grandees were reluctant to accompany him. The *Wazīr*, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān, was next tried and he offered to undertake the task if 'Abdullāh Khān and his brother, Najmu'd-dīn Khān, were brought out from prison and sent with him;

obviously this could not be concluded. It was then that another Sayyid of Bārha Nuṣrat Yār Khān, was appointed to the vacant government of Ajmer with a view to punishing the Rāthor Rājā. But the new Governor died at Delhi on 25 June, 1722.

255. Abu'l-Fazl has placed *Sarkār* Tijāra (with a fort and eighteen *mahāls*) and the *Sarkār* of Alwar in the Agra *Sūba*. Cunningham described Tijara as a fine old town, situated thirty miles to the north-east of Alwar, and sixty miles to the north-west of Mathura It was the chief town of the *Khānazāds* Firishta refers to the fort of Alwar as lying in eastern Rājpūtāna The attack and sack of Alwar Tijara has not been noticed by other authorities.

256 See note 254 above.

Earlier, Nāhar Khān, who had served as *Diwān* of Gujarat and had rendered help to Ajīt Singh when Marwar was attacked by Sayyid Husain 'Alī, was appointed *Diwān* of Ajmer and his brother Rūhullāh was appointed *Qal'adār* of Gadh Putli. Nāhar Khān was treacherously attacked by the Rājā's men and murdered on 10 February 1722 This infuriated the Emperor who despatched a large force against the Rājā. The Nizām too advanced towards the north. Ajīt Singh withdrew to Jodhpur leaving a force to defend Gadh Putli but it was captured and Ajīt Singh was persuaded to send his son Abhai Singh to the Court.

257. Bans Bareilly, Shāhjahānpūr and Sambhal all lay in Rohilkhand Shāhjahānpūr formed the eastern most District of Rohilkhand Division and it was bounded on the north-west and north by Pilibhit and on the east by Awadh District of Khera, and on the west by Budaun. Sambhal, a *Tahsil* of Muradābād, was one of the north western frontier of Rohilkhand Division surrounded by Bijnaur, Rāmpur and Budaun

258. 'Azmatullāh Khān was an Afghan of *Panch Bhaiyya* group and was different from 'Azmatullāh Khān, son of 'Ismatullāh Khān, a *Qāzizāda* of Lucknow, who had been

appointed as a *Faujdār* of Sambhal Muradabad in Katihar Rohilkhand. He had patronised 'Alī Muhammad Rohilla. The incident mentioned here has not been noticed by any other authority known to present writer

259. Mīr Muhammad Amīn, entitled *Sa'ādat Khān Burhānu'l-mulk* was a *Mūsawi* Sayyid of Nishapūr in Iran who is said to have been a son-in-law of Ganj 'Alī Khān. His father, Muhammad Nāsir, came by sea in *A.H.* 1118 A.D. 1706-7) to Bengal and settled in Patna where he died and lies buried Mīr Muhammad Amīn came two years after in *A.H* 1120 to see his father at Patna, but he was dead. Taking his eldest brother, Muhammad Bāqir, he left for Delhi He first entered into the services of Sarbaland Khān and there-after attracted the notice of Husain 'Alī Khān who got him appointed, in 1720, as *Faujdār* of Hindaun Biana, some fifty or sixty miles south west of Agra, a difficult job because of the turbulent Jāts of the locality. His ambition led him to conspire against the Sayyids and to take prominent part in their downfall. After the death of Muhammad Amīn Khān he was appointed Governor of Akbarābād (Agra) in addition to Awadh and elevated to the rank of 7,000 *zāt*/7000 *suwār* He was the strongest advocate of anti-Marhatta policy but was always thwarted by Khān-i-daurān, the friend of Jai Singh. He was replaced by Jai Singh in the government of Agra. He died of cancer after the battle of Karnal in March 1739.

260 Nīl Kantha Nāgar, Sa'ādat Khān's Deputy at Agra, was shot dead by Muhkam Singh on 16 September 1721. Sa'ādat Khān hastened from Awadh to avenge the death of his lieutenant, but Khān-i-daurān made Nīl Kantha's death a pretext for getting him deprived of the government of Agra, which he procured for his friend, Jai Singh *Sawāi*, in the year 4 (A.D. 1722) Rājā Jai Singh laid siege to Thun, the stronghold of the Jāts and captured it on 8 November, 1722 (19 November *C.H.I.*, p 348).

261. Shiv Dās has wrongly given credit to Sa'ādat Khān for this affair He had been replaced by Jai Singh who got

the title of *Rājā Rajeshwar* for occupying the Jāt stronghold and getting Badan Singh on his side. Badan Singh had pointed out the weak points in Jāt defences and he was rewarded by being recognized as the head of the Jāts on the recommendation of the Rājā.

262. Khāfī Khān and the author of *S M.* and *T.M.* write that a severe earthquake occurred on 2 *Ramazan*, *A H.* 1132, 27 June, 1720) in the afternoon The tremors continued for forty days. Many mansions in Shāhjahānābād and old Delhi fell down. Even when the tremors eased, for five or six months people were so nervous as to feel the shocks. Kāmwar Khān and Muhammad 'Alī Ansārī also refer to this earthquake though with varying details.

263. A special public prayer was offered on such occasions of natural calamities such as earthquake and failure of rains and famine. *Namāz-i-istisqā* was offered by the populace affected by failure of rains and was led by pious and purest of persons of the locality.

264. As exactly this very amount has been mentioned several times, (*vide* note 138) the figures become doubtful. Kāmwar Khān tells us about the receipts of an '*zardāsht* from Bengal on 19 *Rajab*, 1132 *A.H.* (16 May, 1720) saying that 75 lakhs of Bengal revenue had been despatched laden on '*arābaha* (wheeled carts). Earlier, under the date 25 *Jumada* II, 1131 *A H* (4 May, 1719) he refers to the despatch of 20 lakhs rupees. The same authority writes that on 11 July, 1722, 'Azīmullāh Khān was sent to Agra to bring the Bengal treasure, and on 16 of the same month he brought within the blessed fort fiftyfive lakhs. There is yet another reference made by him to the receipt of one crore fifty lakhs of Bengal treasure on 3 *Ṣafar*, 1134 (2 November, 1721).

265. The long cumbersome complimentary titles in the beginning and the excessively adulatory strain of the address was, however, not without reason or purpose. It may be taken as an indication of the deterioration in the dignity and prestige of the imperial office, and it points out how

the Court nobility and provincial chiefs were much too engrossed with their own selfish and powerg-rabbing designs to take effective military action against the aggressions of the Rāthors and Jāts and their other Hindu allies. It shows that the pressure of events made the young and pleasure-loving Emperor realise the gravity of the situation. He shook off his antipathy against the Tūrani leaders and got out of his way to solicit aid from the one great Turani leader who was not only a capable administrator but also the wielder of effective political and military power, and was expected to bring out the empire from the morass it had fallen in.

266. The fourth year of Muhammad Shāh's reign covered 1723-24.

267. 'Iwaz Khān, originally named Muḥammad Kamāl and entitled *'Azzu'd-daulāh* was the *Nāẓim* of Berar (Ellichpur) He was Niẓam's uncle by marriage, having, married the sister of Niẓām's father. He and his son, Jamālullāh, rendered good service in the battle of Khandwa and Bālāpur. He died on 30 June 1730, aged 70.

268. The case was just the reverse Ajīt Singh had become partisan of the Sayyid Brothers and their kind and considerate treatment of his daughter, indra Kunwar, in 1715 and more specially after the good offices of Nāhar Khān which he had employed to strengthen his bond he had been very friendly with them. He even refused to help his son-in-law Farrukhsiyar against them. However, subsequently, the Rājā turned hostile even to the Sayyids when he ignored their repeated requests to accompany Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to the Deccan (*Bālmukand-nāma*). At any rate it was Jai Singh and not Ajit Singh who for his own personsal reasons, and due to the ill-concealed hostility against the Sayyids, urged Farrukhsiyar to come out openly and rely upon him and other loyalist elements.

For an estimate of Rājā Ajīt Singh's character see L.M. II, pp. 116-117.

269. After Ajīt Singh had taken possession of Ajmer with the help of 30,000 Rāṯhor troops he began to show a change in his attitude. He called the *mu'azzin* (public crier of the call to prayer) and butchers and ordered them to carry on their professional and religious duties without any let or hindrance. He produced a *nishān* from the Emperor's mother bearing the seal of Muḥammad Shāh justifying his retention of Ajmer and Ahmadābād on the basis of the promises made in it.

270. It was on the recommendation of the cowardly (*Kamdil, Kamjur'at*) and thorougly incompetent (*Nākāra-i-maḥz*) person who held the post of the premier-noble that the equally effect and imbecile representative of the Tīmūrids preferred the policy of conciliation and settlement with the refractory and unscrupulous Rājā of Marwar. The author of *S.M.* tells us how Samsāmud-daulāh instilled fear into the mind of Muḥammad Shāh; how, when opposed by others, he held himself aloof for some time from the Court and went into retirement; how the Emperor tried to assuage and remove the annoyance of the Jodhpur chief; and how the latter continued to receive letters from the champion of the Hindustanī party, the evil genius of the Empire.

Sir W. Haig writes "the confirmation of Ajīt Singh in the government of Ajmer had been due to weakness rather than to clemency, and his tenure of Ajmer, sanctified by the shrine of Mu'īnud-dīn Chishtī and several known saints, was repugnant to Muslims. Haidar Qulī Khān's prompt obedience to the order recalling him from Gujarat and his reckless audacity led to his appointment as Governor of Ajmer, from which he expelled the Rājā's officers" (*C.H.I.*, p. 249).

271. The author of *S.M.* tells us that Nizāmu'l-mulk returned from Karnatik in the beginning of September, 1721 and he entered Aurangābād and thence went to Burhānpūr on 28 September, 1721. On his way to Delhi he was joined on 13 January, 1722 by Udi Singh Bundela of Orchha, his son Bahadur Singh, Durjan Singh, Rājā of

Chanderi, Rājā Arjun Singh of Aundha or Orchha, Rājā Chattar Singh of Narwar and Rāi Rāmchand, the son of Rāi Dalpat of Datia.

Chanderi was in the former Gwalior State and lay one hundred five miles south of Gwalior and one hundred seventy miles south of Agra. Aunacha or Orchha was on the Datia frontier, one hundred forty-two miles south east of Agra. Narwar was about forty four miles south of Gwalior The historian, Warid, who was a personal friend of Rāo Dalpat of Datia, Bundelkhand, has given some interesting information about his son, Rāo Rāmchand, specially in connection with his fatal fight with Bhagwant Khichar of Asother Ghazipūr in the District of Fat'hpur in A.H. 1146/1733 A.D

272. 29 *Rabi' I*, year 4 or *A.H* 1134/6 January, 1722; Haig says that Nizāmu'l-mulk arrived at Delhi on 8th July, 1723 Khāfi Khān writes that the Nizām entered Delhi city on 22nd *Rabi* 'I/29 January, 1722.

273. All authorities (except Khafi Khān) agree on this date, 5 *Jumādā* I, *A H* 1134—10th February, 1722 for the appointment of Nizāmu'l-mulk as the *Wazir* He received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen case (*Qalamdān-i-wizārat*) and a diamond ring.

274. Solomon, the son of David, a biblical prophet, was a great sovereign and is well known for his status and dignity Faridun was the name of an ancient king of Persia, famed for his virtuous deeds. Jamshed was also a celebrated king of Persia and was the founder of Persepolis.

275. Khāfi Khān writes 'Nizāmu'l-mulk was anxious to carry out the duties of his office to maintain the character of the empire, and to accumulate funds, without which a sovereign falls into disiepute." His scheme of much-needed reforms, according to Warid, comprised stoppage of the practice of receiving offerings and *peshkash* which were nothing but bribe and discontinuance of excessive grants of assignments out of the *Khālisa* revenue, paying

lands to members of royal family and to members of the aristocracy which diminished the public revenue. He favoured the cause of the fit and capable sons and scions of old and tried grandees, and was against the upstarts who had managed to get *mansabs*, *jāgirs* and services through bribes. Lastly he, like 'Ināyatullāh Kashmīrī and Muhammad Amīn Khān, favoured the reimposition of *jizya* But the well-intetioned *Wazīr* failed to accomplish his purpose because of the interference of a corrupt clique of triumvirate *Koki Jiu*, Khwāja (Ḥāfiz), Khidmatgār Khān, and Shāh 'Abdu'l Ghafūr, *Raushanu'd-daulāh* Zafar Khān was also a party to corruption and embezzlement. They, as also Ṣamsāmu'd-daulah and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, maligned the Nizām and obstructed his authority as *Wazīr* The Hindu officials were vehemently opposed to the proposed levy of *jizya*. See *L.M.* II, pp. 106-07.

276 Shivdās alone has mentioned this affair which shows how rotten was the state of law and order and how malpractices were connived at, and the worst elements of society were encouraged and abetted by a new class of people who had risen to power in the Court and were bent on promoting their own individual interests, by shielding those who committed nefarious deeds.

277. Yār Muhammad Koka, entitled Koka Khān, holding the rank of 4,000/3,000 was rewarded with robes, standards, drums, elephants and horses. This has been mentioned by Kāmwar Khān also but we know nothing about his antecedents. His mother might have been a wet nurse of the Emperor.

278. Though we may accept what Sheodās and Khushhāl Chand have said about some of the good points of Muhammad Shāh such as his natural intelligence and innate generosity, clemency, tendency to forgive and connive at faults, and abhor cruelty and bloodshed, contemporary historians leave us in no doubt about his weak mental calibre, inconsistency, lack of discernment of true merits, proneness to intrigues, devotion to pleasure

and amusement rather than business of State, and fascination for strange and entertaining things. The case of 'Gluttonous Ibrahim' who in his presence ate raw meat of two kids and two full large dishes of food and was rewarded not only with 200 rupees in cash but provided by order issued on 1 March, 1723 with a daily allowance of two rupees and a large dish of food (T.S.C.) may be cited as an instance of his levity. He would gladly accept a chair with European paintings (*ibid*). When Gulzar *Firangi*, a European artist who had been running his business in Delhi since the time of Farrukhsiyar, presented his 'highly aristic *Takhta-i-maṣnu'* (painted board, a work of skill) two yards long and one and a half yards broad, well executed in European fashion and containing beautiful paintings of a variety of men, mansions, reservoirs, fountains, gardens etc , the artist got a cash reward of 2,000 rupees and an increase in his *manṣab* and also a robe of honour and a *jāgir* (*B M*).

279. Khāfi Khān writes 'The etiquette of the Court and the discipline of the State had fallen entirely from the proper dignified standard of royalty, and Niẓāmu'l-mulk desired that orders be issued to restore the same.' The minor incident noticed by Shivdās shows how the great minister tried to resist what would have involved the inexperienced and careless Emperor into ill-repute.

280. 2 *Rajab*, year 4 or *A H.* 1134/7 April, 1722 Kāmwar Khān has briefly noticed this affair under the date 17 *Rajab*, year 4/22 April, 1722. He writes 'on the complaint of Khoja Almās, the agent (*Nā'ib*) of Sadru'n-nisa, a *farmān* was issued that Khushḥāl Singh *Hazāri* should bring Quraish Khān before the enlightened presence. The aforesaid Khān was bent on safeguarding his honour and was touchy about the nice sense of self respect to an extreme degree and he would not allow himself to be taken captive for nothing (*muft*). Having wounded and made many lifeless he was himself killed along with some of his own men. Here we get the name of the eunuch and know the influence that he wielded through his service in

the *haram*. Khushhāl Singh *Hazāri*, who has been earlier mentioned in the text as making the present of a gun to the Emperor on 23 July, 1722, must have been working under Khān-i-zamān Mewātī. As regards Sadru'n-nisā, she has been described by Khāfī Khān as a *dastgrifta* (protege) of 'Abdullāh Khān. Irvine (*L.M.*, II, p 57) describes her as an intermediary of communication, along with 'Abdu'l Ghafūr, disguised in the attire of a milk woman, between the Emperor's mother and the arch conspirator, Muhammah Amīn Khān. Khushhāl Chand, tells us that she was the wife of Riza Qulī Khān Bahādur, Jahāndār Shāhī, and when the faithful sweeper of the murdered Husain 'Alī Khān had rushed towards the Emperor, she had shielded him.

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Index

Abdul Khair, 130
Abdur Rafi, 133
Abdur Rahım, 120
Abdur Khaır, 130
Afghans, 91, 128, 138
Agate, 120, 121, 125
Agra, 21, 27
Agarsen, 134
Akhan-ı-Shara, 147
Ahl-ı-tuman, 7, 8, 101
Ahmadabad, 53, 54, 147-149
Ajıt Sıngh Rathor (Raja), 4-6, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148
Ajmer, 5, 53, 54, 132, 134, 135, 137 138, 143, 147-149
Akbar, 36
Akbarabad, 3, 21, 27, 45-49, 52-55, 57-62, 78-80, 100, 101, 131, 132, 139, 143, 149, 150
Alı Khan Bahadur, 6, 12, 29, 33, 34, 36, 38-42
Allahabad, 56-61, 63, 77, 101, 117
Alwar Tıjara, 138, 143, 148
Amber, 53, 136
Ámırs, 151
Amınud-daulah, 121, 125
Amırul-manzılat, 84
Amırul-umara, 2, 4-7, 12, 13, 29, 33-36, 38-44, 50-56, 58-61, 63, 65, 67-70, 72, 73, 75-85, 94-98, 102, 108, 117, 118
Ammunıtion, 139
Aqıl Beg, 123
Arab, 26, 27
Arabıan, 4, 5, 19, 108, 149
Arbabı-ma'ash, 10
Arbı Bread, 109
Araıl, 14
Arall, 14
Araul, 1
Archer, 137
Argaja, 121, 123
Army, 70, 71, 88, 106, 139, 141
Armıes, 74, 142
Artıllery, 46, 64, 78, 104, 138, 153
Arrows, 74, 82, 83, 106, 117, 139
Arzdasht, 36, 46, 66, 70, 74-76, 88, 91-94, 122, 126, 127, 144, 146, 148
Asharfis, 6, 26, 27, 41, 85, 104, 108, 109, 120, 149, 150
Asnad, 66
Aspa, 27, 97
Atlas, 131
Atufat nishan, 34
Aulıya, 96
Aundheha, 149
Aurangabad, 67, 70, 71, 73-75, 144, 146
Aurangabad, Khujastabunyad, 12
Aurangzeb, 2, 3, 34, 41, 72, 129, 151
Aurısı, 134
Awadh, 3, 4, 7, 8, 50, 60, 61, 88, 101, 110, 114, 116, 126, 132, 141

Azad, 115
Azan, 128
Azimuddin (Muhammad), 11
Azizuddin, 3

Ba aslaha kotah amad, 139
Ba nivaz wa nisar, 146
Bad-keshan, 33
Badan Singh, 140
Badshah-i-giti panah, 54
Bahadur, 79, 129
Bahadur Shah, 3, 55
Bahadur Singh Jahangiri, 121
Bahal, 97
Bahtunda, 117
Bairaq, 115
Bakhshi, 2, 3, 5, 7, 69, 75, 84, 97, 130, 133, 141, 153
Bakhshiul-mamalik, 3, 4, 6, 12, 36, 67, 71, 84, 89, 90, 117, 119, 131, 132, 134, 138
Bakhshiul-mamalik Samsamud-daulah-Amirul-umara Bahadur, 137
Baksaria, 40, 46, 49, 51, 52, 58
Balaband, 6
Bali, 101
Balkh, 125
Balochpur, 102
Bangla, 46
Bans, 138
Bank-patta, 151
Bankers, 12, 112
Bara (fencing), 152
Bareilly, 138, 139
Barha, Pula, 27, 150
Barha, 2, 30, 55, 97
Baskets, (Panjdali), 120
Bazaar (s), 49, 102, 105
Bed, 9
Beads, 120
Beef-butcher, 151
Begams, 151
Begampura, 152
Benares, 8, 14, 15
Bengal, 2, 8, 110, 120, 141
Bengal Treasure, 56, 58, 60
Beoparian, 22
Betal Box, 59
Betel Leaves, 59, 122-124, 126
Bhadawar, 84, 103, 104, 132
Bhim, 49
Bhusawar, 80
Bi-ghairat, 85
Bijli, 49
Birbal (Raja), 46, 51
Black Pal (Copper coin), 119
Black Slave, 131
Blacksmiths, 17
Bone, 72
Bow, 122
Brahman, 46
Budhi, 101
Buffaloes, 11, 20, 131
Bull, 131
Bullets, 64
Bullocks, 5, 20, 49
Bullock-carts, 97
Burhanpur, 64, 69, 71, 74
Butter, 21

Camel-litter, 121
Cannon, 20, 21
Cannon ball, 140
Caliph, 78-80, 91, 100
Caliphate, 85
Camels, 9, 16, 20, 131, 137, 141
Caravan, 21
Carts, 20, 106, 140
Cavalry, 97, 126
Chabela Ram (Raja), 114
Chabela Ram Nagar, 3
Chabutra, 16
Chabutra-i-Kotwali, 16, 50, 115, 152
Chaharqab, 150
Chair, 129, 134
Chakladar, 153
Chancellor, 140
Chandeli, 149
Chandol, 129
Chariot, 97 140
Charpai, 9, 106

Chatra Singh (Raja), 149
Chaunri, 120
Chief Justice, 140
Chin Qlich Khan Bahadur, 30, 38
Chura or Churaram, 18, 23, 24, 26, 30, 43, 51, 52, 136, 137, 139, 140
Chura Jat, 25, 28-30, 43, 88, 136, 139, 141, 145, 146
Churaman, 18-23, 26, 50, 51, 101, 105, 107
Churaman Jat, 51, 84
Cloth, 23, 27, 32, 59, 60, 150
Coaches, 59
Colophon, 154
Commander, 141
Copper coins, 22
Corpses, 17, 83
Court (of Justice), 128, 130, 133, 140-142, 144, 145, 148-151, 153
Crane, 134
Creator, 1, 9, 11, 13
Crown, 34, 111
Cultass, 151
Cushion, 60

Dagger, 52, 82, 120-122, 131, 139, 150, 151
Dah nafar qual (ten soldiers), 132
Dahr Ara, 61
Daipur, 134
Dak (Post) 89
Dams, 92, 101, 108
Dancers, 121, 122, 124
Dancing girls, 6, 121-123
Dark Bay, 131
Darkar-i-sarkar, 47
Darogha, 28, 152
Darogha-i-dagh-o-tas-hiha, 90
Darogha-i-khawasan, 3, 84
Dastawez, 66
Daulatabad, 133
Daulat Ram Harkara, 134
Daya Bahadur, 3
Deccan, 7, 12, 29, 33-37, 42, 61-63, 66-72, 74-77, 79, 80, 88, 94, 95, 111, 122, 133, 142, 143-146
Deccaisn, 35
Deccani, 12. 13, 33, 39, 41, 43, 63, 67, 70, 141
Deputy Governor, 21
Delhi, 2, 47
Deserts, 111, 112
Dhara, 61
Dhir, 26
Dhum-dham, 49
Ditch, 127
Divine, 1, 149
Divinity, 144
Diwan, 5, 88, 92, 103, 104, 126, 132, 134, 136,
Diwani, 60
Diwan-i-am, 41, 42, 119, 121, 122-126, 130, 131-133-150
Diwan-i-khas, 3, 27-29, 40, 42, 82, 84, 85, 124, 129, 130
Diwn-i-a'la, 125
Diyanat Rai, 121
Dola, 5
Dome, 12?
Dominion, 86
Dress, 60
Drums, 70
Dulah, 130
Durjan Singh, 149

Ears, 107
Ear-rings, 130, 134
Earthquake, 140
Elephants, 5, 7, 8, 11, 15, 18, 20, 27, 32, 33, 38, 49, 52, 54, 60, 65, 69, 75, 83, 84, 103, 104, 107-109, 112, 116, 118, 119, 121-125, 129, 133, 139-141, 149, 150
Emperor, 2, 3, 17-29, 32, 39-45, 54, 66, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 81, 84, 91, 93, 94, 97, 102, 104, 105, 107, 114-116, 121, 134, 138, 140, 107
Empire, 2, 25, 34, 37, 39, 60, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91-94, 100, 102, 113, 114, 146, 148

Enlightened Majesty, 72
Envelope, 131
Etawah, 57
European, 122, 134

Fakhrud-daulah, 141, 150
Fan, 121
Farman (s), 12, 24-26, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 66, 68-76, 85-89, 91-94, 98, 99, 110-112, 132, 133, 141, 144, 145, 148
Fatehpur Sikri, 53, 54, 80
Fath Singh, 131
Fathnama, 13
Fatiha, 53
Faridabad, 21, 100
Faridun, 36, 150
Farrukhsiyar, 27, 53, 81, 97, 114, 119, 130, 153
Faqir (s), 53, 115
Faqrullah, 133
Faujdar, 57, 58, 62, 116, 132, 133, 137-139, 144, 146
Faujdari, 38, 60, 117
Fillizz-i-siyah, 22
Firangi, 122
Firdaus Ashiyani, 78
Fir , 34, 83
Fire-wood, 23, 24
Firmani-bari, 70
Firman-i-muta, 141
Firqa, 113
Fish, 45
Flowers, 126, 131
Fly Flapper, 120
Foot-soldiers, 8, 53, 89, 97, 117
Fort, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 96, 98, 127, 128, 134, 152
Fortress, 127, 128
Fruit, 82, 132

Gadhi, 97
Ganges, 11, 51, 56
Garland, 121
Gaoghat, 121
Gate of Delhi, 48
Gaughat, 46
Gaur, 126
Gharat-garan, 21
Ghari (s), 106, 119, 121-126, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 139, 140
Ghlu Khan Tarin Lakhnawi, 105
Ghuslkhana, 3
Girdles, 120, 124, 125, 150
Goats, 131
God, 1, 2, 8, 13, 22, 24, 25, 30, 34, 35, 37, 40, 43, 46, 48, 53-56, 59, 62, 67, 68, 71-74 76-79, 85-88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 109, 111, 112, 113-117, 119, 126-128, 137, 139, 142, 144-146, 148-152, 154
Gold, 5, 27, 69, 93, 109, 120, 122, 131
Gopal Singh, 132
Gouras, 132
Governor, 12, 13, 38, 92, 135, 137
Grams, 23
Grass, 22
Greek, 115
Gridhar Lal, 114, 116, 132, 141
Gujarat, 27, 57, 77, 134, 135, 139
Gujarmal (Raja), 119, 131 133, 134
Gums, 74, 104
Gumashta-hai, 58, 138
Gunners, 104
Guru, 126
Guzar, 153

Haidarabad, 132
Hakim Kazim, 122
Hakim Masihuz-zaman, 121
Hakimul-hukama, 129, 130
Hakimul-mulk, 125
Hakimul mamalik, Hakim, 130
Handa, 41, 52, 65
Handkerchief, 84
Harkaras, 15, 26, 61, 83, 115, 118, 134, 138
Harawal, 20
Hasb-i-maratib, 45
Hasht hazar, 2, 3, 46, 51
Hauda, 140

Haudas, 5
Haveli (s), 4, 18
Hazrat, 59
Hazrat Begam, 129
Hazaris, 46, 50, 51, 153
Head-band, 120
Head-dress, 27, 32, 33, 54, 123, 125
Head-gear, 123
Hemraj Jatthi, 80
Heron, 134
Hijra (era), 81, 106
Hijri, 85-87
Hills, 88
Hind, 113
Hindus, 9, 16, 113, 114
Hindustan, 38, 68, 70, 113, 144, 148
Hindustanis, 9
Hinga Hazari, 121, 123
Hiraman Hazari, 121
His Majesty, 4-7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22-24, 26-34, 37-42, 44, 54, 55, 68, 70-76, 79, 81-85, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95, 101, 103, 106-110, 113-116, 118-126, 129, 130, 131-135, 138, 140, 141, 145-154
His (August) Majesty, 25
His (Enlightened) Majesty, 70
His Excellency, 61
His (Gracious) Majesty, 25
His (Great) Majesty 150
His (Imperial) Majesty, 84, 130, 137, 151
His (martyred) Majesty, 153
His (Sacred) Majesty, 16, 117, 119, 120
His Majesty's Court, 76
Hisar, 133
Hodal, 21
Holy Law, 96
Horses, 9, 11, 26, 27, 32, 44, 54, 57, 60, 69, 88, 90, 97, 103, 104, 108, 109, 116-119, 121-123, 125-127, 131-134, 138-140, 143, 146, 149, 150
Horsemen, 8, 43, 106, 110
Huma bird, 121
Hundis, 5
Husain Afghan, 91
Huqqa, 82

Ibrahim, 130
Ibraz, 128
Idgah, 118
Ijab, 10
Ilahabad, 8
Imperial Army, 107
Imperial Artillery, 97
Imperial Court, 24, 62
Imperial Forces, 26
Imperial Government, 23, 94
Imperial Treasuty, 19, 92
Inam, 38, 58, 108
Inder Singh (Raja), 133
Indian, 113, 115
Infantry, 97, 126, 127
Iraqui, 4, 5, 19, 26, 27, 108, 109, 149
Islam, 13, 84, 113, 139
Itimadud-daulah, 138, 141, 150, 153

Jag Ram, 88, 89, 103, 104
Jagir, 2-5, 15, 27, 46, 92, 152
Jagirdars, 58, 138, 143
Jahanabad, 57, 141
Jahan Shah, 55
Jahangiri 27
Jai Singh Sawai (Raja), 18-20, 22-27, 29, 37, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 86, 88, 103, 104, 109, 113, 119, 136
Jalalak, 128
Jamadar, 74
Jama Khana, 133
Jami, 142
Jami Masjid, 118, 129, 140
Jamiyat, 13
Jamiyat-i-Shaista, 32
Jammu, 132, 133
Jamshed, 150
Jamuna, 5, 42, 43, 56, 58, 59, 61, 78, 79, 102, 105, 106, 134, 141, 150

Jars, 129
Jaribs (Yards), 104
Jashn (festival), 119, 122, 130, 132
Jat (s), 18, 21, 29, 88, 101, 106, 118, 140
Jawahir Khana, 27
Jewels, 5, 8, 32, 108, 119, 120, 123, 131, 132, 134, 150
Jewelled Arms, 7, 69
Jewelled Pen, 150
Jharokha, 126, 152
Jigha, 4, 6, 122, 132, 149
Jigha-i-murassa, 45, 125
Jihad, 113
Jizya, 110, 112, 114, 115
Jodhpur, 4, 5, 42, 54, 134, 141, 142, 145, 146
Joseph, 85
Judge, 1, 140
Jugal Kishore, 134
Jugglers, 6
Julus, 154
Jumada, 47
Jumada I, 150
Jumlatul-mulk Madarul-mahamm, 5, 151
Jungles, 58, 126
Juzw-i-zaif, 145

Kaba, 47
Kabul, 38, 112, 128, 132
Kabuli, 131
Kachehri, 150
Kahar, 118
Kaifiyat, 154
Kaither, 127, 128
Kakai, (Kekori, a town in U P, 46
Kamalgatta, 131, 132
Kamar-i-muttaka-i-murassa (girdle) 123, 124, 126
Kather, 131
Kara, 8
Karelas, 132
Karial, 22
Karkhanajat, 14, 33, 69
Karkhanajat-i-sarkar, 74
Kalam Majid, 45
Kalas (Gold), 129
Kalpi, 57
Kaman, 100
Kashmir, 132
Kettle-drums, 107, 110, 112
Khairabad, 101, 126, 128
Khalisa Sharifa, 26, 134, 143
Khan, 131, 132
Khan, Abid, 90, 122
Khan, Abdul-Mukarim, 130
Khan, Abdul Nabi, 8, 14
Khan, Abdul Wahabb, 123
Khan, Abdullah, 2, 15, 17, 22-24, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 37, 39, 42, 47, 52, 63, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 96, 101, 110, 112, 143
Khan Abdullah (Saiyid), 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 41-47, 49, 53-58, 61, 65, 68, 77, 79, 88, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102-108, 110, 113, 134
Khan, Abdur Rahman, 130
Khan, Abdus Samad, 15, 50, 87, 88, 91, 109, 116, 125, 132, 134
Khan, Afiyat Beg, 123
Khan, Afzal, 122, 124
Khan, Ahliyat, 124
Khan, Ahmad, 124
Khan, Ahmad Quli, 122, 129, 130
Khan, Aia, 125
Khan, Akbar Ali (Sayyid), 98, 108, 109
Khan, Ala, 129
Khan, Alam Ali (Sayyid), 49, 65-70, 74-78
Khan Ali Ahmad, 124
Khan, Alauddin, 124
Khan, Ali Asad, 61
Khan, Ali Muhammad, 125
Khan, Ali Murad, 125
Khan, Ali Quli, 123
Khan, Allah Yar, 123
Khan, Allawardi, 121, 123, 134
Khan, Amirul-umara Husan Ali, 12, 115
Khan, Amir, 122
Khan, Amir Ahmad, 124

Khan, Amıruddın, 6, 103, 121, 125, 132
Khan, Hqıdat, 122, 133
Khan, Arab Alı, 122, 124, 126
Khan, Asad, 122
Khan, Asad Alı, 123
Khan, Asaduddın, 124
Khan, Askari, 116
Khan, Azam, 121
Khan, Azımullah, 121, 123, 124, 133
Ahan, Aziz (Bahadur), 100, 101, 103, 104
Khan, Azmatullah, 138, 139
Khan, Bahjat, 125
Khan, Bakhtawar, 124
Khan, Basalat, 126
Khan, Bayazıd, 20, 86, 137
Khan, Bu Alı, 120, 123
Khan, Chın Barlas, 122
Khan, Darab, 124
Khan, Darbar, 125, 133
Khan, Darıya, 98
Khan, Daust Alı, 8, 14
Khan, Dawardad, 125
Khan, Dawud, 12, 13
Khan, Dılawar (Malıhabad), 6, 64
Khan, Dılawar (Sayyıd), 3, 49, 63-65, 67-69 73, 78
Khan, Dılcr, 8, 14, 117
Khan, Dıler Dıl, 104, 121, 123, 124, 133
Khan, Dıler Hımmat, 125
Khan, Dost Alı, 90
Khan, Fakhrud-dın, 132, 141
Khan, Fath Alı, 123
Khan, Fath Mubarak, 125, 134
Khan, Fathullah, 124
Khan, Fathuz-zaman, 125
Khan, Fazl Alı, 120, 122
Khan, Faujdar, 115
Khan, Fıdaı, 125
Khan, Ghaırat, 45-48, 50, 52, 53, 77, 79-81, 83, 87, 89, 90, 91-96, 98, 111-113
Khan, Ghalıb, 90, 104, 121, 124
Khan, Ghazı, 49
Knan, Ghazanfar, 133
Khan, Ghazıuddın, 30, 97, 103, 121, 122 124
Khan, Ghulam Rasul, 131
Khan, Habıbullah, 121
Khan, Hafiz, 120, 124
Khan, Haıdar Qulı, 53, 57, 59, 77, 79-81, 83, 85, 101, 103, 104, 107-109, 116-119, 121-123, 124-127, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 147
Khan, Hakım Alawı, 120
Khan, Hamıd, 125
Khan, Hamıdud-dīn, 123
Khan, Hamrahı-ı-Imarat-o-Iyalat Panah, Nawwab, 154
Khan, Hanafi, 124
Khan, Haqıqat, 125
Khan, Hasan, 57, 122
Khan, Hamza, 124
Khan, Hayat, 133
Khan, Hıdayatullah, 120, 125
Khan, Hıkmat (Sayyıd), 125
Khan, Hızabr, 103, 104
Khan, Husaın Alı (Amırul-umara), 2, 3, 35, 42, 44, 49, 50, 52, 55, 58, 63, 67, 69, 85-87, 89, 90, 92-94, 111, 112, 113, 134, 143, 146, 147
Khan, Husaın Alı (Sayyıd), 44, 45, 47-49, 53, 55, 56, 58-61, 63, 65, 68-70, 77-79, 81-83, 85, 91, 94, 102, 133
Knan, Hushyar, 124, 133
Khan, Ibadullah, 119-121
Khan, Ibrahım, 125
Khan, Ihtımam, 124
Khan, Ikhlas, 34, 37, 124
Khan, Iltımas (Khwaja), 125
Khan, Inayat, 112, 125, 133
Khan, Inayatullah, 125, 130, 143
Khan, Inayatullah Alamgırı, 116
Khan, Iradatmand, 119-124, 130, 131, 133, 134, 141
Khan, Iradatullah, 131

Khan, Ismail, 121
Khan, Ismail Atar, 123
Khan, Islam, 122
Khan, Itibar, 98, 124, 133
Khan, Itmad, 123
Khan, Itimadud-daulah, Muhammad Amin, 143
Khan, Itiqad, 13, 27, 44
Khan, Iwaz, 144, 146
Khan, Izzat Ali, 125
Khan, Jabbar Quli, 120
Khan, Jafar, 120, 141
Khan, Jahan, 125
Khan, Jan Nisar, 124
Khan, Janish, 122
Khan, Jawahir, 120, 131, 133
Khan, Jawad, 129
Khan, Jawid, 133
Khan, Kamyab, 121, 124
Khan, Karamat, 123
Khan, Kazim Ali (Hakim), 130
Khan, Khabardar, 125, 133
Khan, Khalil Bayazid Khail, 4, 82, 83
Khan, Khairullah Beg, 124
Khan-i-dauran Bahadur (Mansur Jang), 28, 29, 89, 104
Khan-i-Zaman, 141
Khan, Khanazad, 124, 128, 132
Khan, Khawas, 123, 129, 133
Khan, Khidmatgar, 122
Khan, Khushi, 119
Khan, Khwaja Yar, 122
Khan, Khwaja Saidud-din, 123
Khan, Koka, 123, 151, 152
Khan, Kokaltash, 122, 131
Khan, Lodi, 125
Khan, Lutfullah, 121, 123, 124, 133
Khan, Mahaldar, 120, 133
Khan, Malik Murad Beg, 124
Khan, Mansur Ali, 124
Khan, Masih Zaman, 130
Khan, Masud, 124
Khan, Masum Ali, 98
Khan, Marhamat, 122
Khan, Mir, 124
Khan, Mir Hasan, 123
Khan, Mir Haidar Beg, 81-83, 96
Khan, Mubariz, 132
Khan, Muhammad, 124, 151
Khan, Muhammad Amin Bahadur, 18, 78, 79, 81-84, 103, 109, 105, 109, 113, 115, 116
Khan, Muhammad Bangash, 3, 59, 100, 101, 103-105, 120-122, 124, 125
Khan, Muhammad Ghaziud-din, 132
Khan, Muhammad Rahim, 133
Khan, Muhammad Yar, 121, 131, 132
Khan, Muizz (Khwaja), 120
Khan, Muizzud-din Haidar Quli, 3, 108
Khan, Mukhlis, 124
Khan, Munawar Ali, 3, 110, 141
Khan Munim, 125
Khan, Mustafa Quli, 124
Khan, Murshid Quli, 3, 110, 141
Khan, Muzaffar, 131
Khan, Muzaffar Ali, 132, 134-137, 139, 147
Khan, Muzaffar Quli, 108, 109, 120, 122
Khan, Nusrat, 124
Khan, Nusrat Yar (Bahadur), 120, 124, 125, 137, 138
Khan, Nimat Ali, 122, 124
Khan, Nizamud-din, 130
Khan, Qamarud-din, 81, 82, 84, 101, 103-105, 108, 109, 115-117, 121, 122, 124, 130, 131, 133, 138, 153
Khan, Qamaruddin, Itimadud-daulah 78, 79, 81-84, 103, 105, 108, 109, 113, 115, 116, 120, 124
Khan, Quraish, 153
Khan, Raad Andaz, 121
Khan, Rahmat, 122
Khan, Rahimullah, 125
Khan, Rasul Beg, 125
Khan, Riza Wafa, 125

Khan, Rustam, 125
Khan, Rustam Alı, 98
Khan, Sa'at, 44, 98, 104, 105, 150, 143, 169
Khan, Sa'adat, 132, 139
Khan, Sabıt, 90, 103-105, 131
Khan, Saf Shıkan, 125
Khan, Saif, 124
Khan, Saıf Ali, 124
Khan, Saıfuddın, 124
Khan, Saifullah, 121, 123
Khan, Sair Alı, 130
Khan, Salabat, 124
Khan, Samander, 46
Khan, Sanjar, 8, 14, 15, 18-22, 24, 45, 48, 79, 106, 125, 141, 154
Khan, Sarbaland, 26, 31, 32, 37, 38, 112, 128, 132
Khan, Sayyıd Jalaluddın Khan, 79
Khan, Sayyıd Jamal Alı, 83
Khan, Sayyıd Kamıl, 102
Khan, Sayyid Khan Jahan, 20, 24, 26
Khan, Sayyıd Muhammad, 98
Khan, Sayyıd Mukammal, 102
Khan, Sayyıd Muzaffar Alı, 98
Khan, Sayyıd Najmuddın Alı, 98, 103
Khan, Sayyıd Nusrat Bahadur, 89, 103, 104
Khan, Sayyıd Nusrat Yar, 90, 118
Khan, Sayyıd Rifat, 98
Khan, Sayyid Salabat, 15, 98, 124
Khan, Sayyid Salabat Khan Bahadur Mır-i-Atısh, 6
Khan, Sayyıd Sarıfuddin Ali, 68, 69
Khan, Sayyıd Shahamat, 97, 103
Khan, Sayyıd Shajaat, 15, 97, 98
Khan, Shaısha, 122
Khan, Shamshır (Walashaı), 4, 6, 18, 19-21, 24, 45-48, 50, 125
Khan, Sharıf Alı, 124
Khan, Sharfuddın Alı, 125
Khan, Sheıkh Sıbgha Mulah, 98, 103, 106
Khan, Sher Afghan, 57, 103, 104, 116, 117, 120
Khan, Sher Muhammad, 124
Khan, Sipahdar, 123
Khan, Subhan Wardi, 130
Khan, Sultan, 133
Khan, Sultan Ali, 121
Khan, Surbaran, 124
Khan, Tahauwur, 124
Khan, Talı Yar, 120, 123, 130
Khan, Tarbıyah 133
Khan, Tarbiyat, 123
Khan, Turab Alı, 123
Khan, Turrakkul, 124
Khan, Wajıhud-din, 140
Khan, Walı, Muhammad, 123
Khan, Yaqut, 133
Khan, Zafar, 132, 133
Khan, Zafar (Bahadur), 38, 79, 84, 103, 105, 108, 116-118, 121-124,
Khan, Zafar, 6, 84, 104
Khan, Zakarıya, 15, 109, 125, 132
Khan, Zumurrad, 133
Khannan, 151, 152
Khan-ı-buyutat, 123
Khan-ı-jahan Bahadur, 134
Khan-ı-Zaman, 153
Khanazad, 88, 91, 92
Khanazad-i-badshahı, 37
Khargah, 55
Kharmuhra, 119
Khas Khalan, 14
Khat, 122
Khatıb (Preacher), 118
Knatrı, 84
Khaqan, 100
Khema, 101
Khemajat, 119
Kherı, 126
Khıdmat-ı-bakhshıgari-Mardum-i-wala shahı, 3
Khıl, 124
Khılafat, 31, 33, 110, 111, 142
Khılat, 6, 12, 26, 46, 108, 132
Khılat-ı-khasa, 27, 38, 41, 45
Khırkı, 126

Khizana, 141
Khuldmakan, 2, 3, 34, 43, 45, 72, 129, 151
Khuld Manzil, 3
Khutba, 4, 44, 55, 96, 129
Khwaja Abdullah, 2
Khwaja Asha, 3
Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti, 54
Khwaja Sultan, 123
Koka, 122
Koh Shukoh, 133
Kol, 131
Kora, 18
Kora (Sarkar), 57
Kora Jahanabad, 3, 153
Kotwal, 17, 47, 50, 115, 151, 152
Kotwali, 16
Kulang, 134
Kuroh, 15, 21, 59, 64, 80, 117, 129, 137, 139
Kushal Singh, 120
Kursi, 129

Lachmi Narain, 118
Lachchhi Ram (Raja), 133
Laharpur, 126-128
Lahore, 2, 3, 15, 50, 87, 91, 94, 109, 116, 125, 132, 134
Lakshman, 3, 46, 98
Lapis Lazuli, 5
Lifafa, 130, 131
Limb, 72
Looking Glass, 120
Lotus flowers, 131
Lotus Stalks, 131, 132
Lord, 1, 70, 95, 100, 118
Lord (Eternal), 2
Lord of the Sword and Pen, 142
Lord of Universe, 48
Lucknow, 3, 46, 98

Ma'ash, 10
Ma'ash (arbab-i), 10
Mace-bearers, 132
Ma'dad-i-ma'ash, 113, 114
Madarud-daulah, 124
Madarul-mahamm, 23
Mahjans (Mahajan), 12
Mahajanan, 23, 143, 151
Mahals, 15, 19, 26, 43, 45, 63, 90, 117, 128, 143, 144, 151
Mahalat, 22, 39
Mahalat-i-Jagir, 90
Mahal hat, 78
Mahal-i-watan, 4, 148
Mahdi Ali, 125
Mahi wa Maratib, 123
Mahoba, 46
Majma, 142
Mal-i-wajib, 126
Malihabad, 4, 45
Malik Maidan, 49
Malwa, 38, 45, 134
Malway, 36, 61-63, 66, 71, 72
Manohar Hazari, 120
Manoharpur, 132, 135, 139
Mansab, 2-4, 9, 15, 20, 34, 46, 51, 61, 63, 84, 85, 90, 97, 98, 107, 120, 126, 137, 153
Mansabdars, 27, 43, 44, 57, 58, 58, 79, 82, 102, 118, 126, 134, 141, 144, 150, 151
Mansabdari, 19
Mansabdar-i-barawardi, 4, 19
Mansurjang, 2, 118, 141
Mardak, 116
Mardum-i-qubail, 14, 52
Marhattas, 71
Mariam, 120
Matalib-i-khud, 35
Match-lock, 120
Match-lock-men, 21, 83, 104, 117, 137
Mathura, 102
Maya Ram, 125
Mecca, 72
Mehr, 6
Merchants, 82
Mewat, 101, 137
Mewatis, 131, 137, 148
Mihr Parwar Begam, 129
Mihrum-nisa, 129

Millet, 22
Mır Abu Talıb, 134
Mir Atish, 15
Mır Bakhshi, 103
Mır Jumla Bahadur, 3, 6-12, 14, 15, 120, 123, 124, 131, 140
Mır Masum, 123
Mır Mushrraf, 3, 6, 60, 61, 82-84, 103-105, 125
Mır Nawaab Aulıa, 82, 95
Mır Sen, 46, 51
Mır Qudrattullah, 123
Mır Tızak, 27
Mır Tuzak, 132
Mırror, 120, 125, 131
Mıyar, 121
Mohkama, 141
Mondha (foot-stool), 121, 122, 125
Monsieur Martın, 122, 129, 130, 134
Morchhals (fans), 121
Mosque, 128
Muazzın, 118
Muchalka, 151
Mudfort, 126
Muftıs, 6, 140
Mughal, 8-11, 16, 74, 78, 80, 82, 147
Mughalıa horsemen, 141
Muhammad Yar, 131
Muhammad Akbar, 33, 34, 37, 38, 45, 47, 48
Muhammad Alı, 124
Muhammed Bangash, 117, 118
Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, 2
Muhammad Ghaus, 152
Muhammad Hamid, 124
Muhammad Ibrahim (Sultan), 96
Muhammad Muızuddın, 2, 114
Muhammad Murad, 27
Muhammad Murad Kashmiri, 44
Muhammad Qasım, 123
Muhammad Rahim, 122
Muhammad Salıh, 122
Muhammad Shah, 55
Muhammad Shah Ghazi, 154
Muhammad Shaja' at, 124
Muhkam Sıngh, 19, 20, 26, 84, 139, 140, 143
Muharram, 103, 106, 110-112
Muokama, 84, 136, 137
Muhrs, 6, 105, 119-122, 126, 130, 133
Muhtasıbs, 140
Muızud-daulah, 150
Mujatahidın, 113
Mules, 20
Mulk, 54
Multan, 116
Mundane, 144
Musafiran, 68
Musalmans, 16, 64, 113, 115
Musamman Burȷ, 6
Mutabarul-mulk (Hakim), 130
Muqaddamat, 37
Muradabad, 138
Mushkı Horse, 131
Muskct (s), 83, 106, 120, 139
Muskct Ball, 104-106
Musketteers, 21, 104
Muslıms, 9
Mutabarul-mulk (Hakım), 129, 130
Mutalabat-i-an mulk, 37
Mutasaddis, 37, 92
Mutasaddı-i-Sarkar, 51
Mutasaddi-ı-dar-o-madar-i-har do Sarkar, 58
Muwakkıl, 62

Nagaur, 118
Naib, 30-32
Naib-Wazır, 116
Naib-ı-azim, 2
Nalwa, 12
Namaz, 140
Namaz-ı-dogana, 119
Nandgaon Barsana, 79, 94, 98, 101
Nand Ram, 124, 125
Narbada, 64
Narnaul, 118, 137, 143, 148

Narwar, 149
Nasiruddin Bahadur, 123
Nathmal, 130
Natwaha (s), 6, 121, 122
Nauruz, 119
Nawwab, 24, 61, 72
Nazim, 8, 12, 13, 15, 29, 31, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 61, 69, 87, 88, 91, 109-112, 114, 116, 117, 120, 126, 128, 132-134, 137, 139, 141, 143, 149
Nazr, 6
Nazir, 130
Necklace, 129
Nekpur, 107
Nekosiyar (Prince), 45-48, 50-52, 62, 163
Newadah, 122
Newswriters, 62, 131
Nikah, 6
Nil Kantha, 143
Nil Kanth Nagar, 139, 140
Nilofar, 131
Nisar, 4
Nishan, 24
Niyaz-wa-peshkash, 133
Nizam, 144
Nizamul-mulk, 30, 31, 37, 38, 45, 46, 49, 61-65, 67-70, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 85, 88, 93, 111, 132, 133, 141, 142, 144, 146, 149, 150-152
Nuktas Sanj, 142

Orchha, 149

Pahr, 9, 81, 106, 122, 123, 124-126, 129 131, 133, 134
Pakhals, 20
Palace, 78, 118, 121, 122, 124, 126, 129-131, 133, 150, 153
Palanquins, 59, 82-84
Palanquin-bearer, 118
Palwal, 21, 22, 24, 101, 102, 107, 110, 111
Pandan, 59
Panipat, 116
Panj Hazar Suwar, 34
Panj Hazari Suwar, 3, 34
Panja, 24, 25, 30
Panja wa qaul ba u marhamahsud, 24
Panjsura, 121
Pargana, 126-128, 131
Parghana (s), 4, 46, 101, 102, 107, 110
Parwana, 17
Parwanajat, 38
Pas, 121
Patna, 7, 9, 12, 13, 26, 51, 58, 60, 141
Pavilion (wooden), 70
Peacock throne, 119, 121, 122, 125
Pearls, 109, 119, 120, 134
Peasant (s), 126
Persian, 115, 131
Pesh dast, 130
Peshkash, 4, 5, 23, 26, 29, 30
Phoenix, 121
Piyada, 8, 19
Port, 134
Prayer (Az'an), 128
Preacher, 118
Prince, 35, 151
Princesses, 151
Prophet, 34
Prostitutes, 119, 121
Pukhta, 22

Qabul, 10
Qabz, 92
Qainchiban, 141
Qaladan, 46
Qaladar, 46, 134
Qala-Kusha, 49
Qamruddin, 131
Qanungo, 118
Qarabalan, 80
Qarqara (demoiselle crane), 134
Qasba Palwal, 19
Qasur, 91
Qaul, 24, 25, 30
Qazi, 2, 10, 70, 75, 140

Qaztul quzat, 6
Qible, 47, 71, 95
Qol, 29
Qudsiya Begam (Her Highness), 120
Qul, 153
Qulan, 152
Qulachis, 152
Qumqum, 119
Qur, 29
Quran, 44, 120, 121
Qutbul-mulk, 2, 3, 6
Qutbul-mulk Yamimud-daulah, 6, 22

Rabi, 42
Rabiul-akhar, 149, 150
Rabiul-awwal, 149
Rafiud-darjat, 44, 52, 53, 55
Rafi-ush-shan, 96, 98
Rai (chief), 101
Rai, Ganjaman, 119
Rai, Muhkam Singh, 119, 125
Rai, Rayan Ganjaman, 121
Raja (s), 3-5, 110, 114, 127, 134, 138, 148, 151
Raja Ajit Singh (Rathor), 42, 43, 54
Raja Bahadur, 103-105
Raja Bhim, 49, 63-65
Raja Bhoj, 78
Raja Chabela Ram, 56, 59
Raja Gaj Singh Narwari 49, 63, 65
Raja Girdharul Bahadur, 50, 56-60, 65, 86, 88, 92, 110
Raja Girdhar Bahadur, 126
Rajadhiraj, 131, 133
Raja Gopal Singh, 79, 84, 103-105
Raja Gujar Mal, 119, 128
Raja Inder Dhiraj, 119, 120
Raja Lachchi Ram, 120, 125
Raja Mukhram Singh, 84, 102, 103
Raja Raj Bahadur, 119, 120, 123
Raja Ratan Singh, 58-61, 79, 80, 83, 94, 97
Raja Sahu, 33-37, 41
Rajab, 153
Rajput, 39, 42
Rahkhwal, 130
Ramazan, 118
Ramna, 81
Ranjakdani, 121
Rao Dalpat Bundela, 149
Rao Ramchand, 149
Rao Sakat Singh, 123
Ratan Chand (Mutassadi), 17, 28, 30, 58, 104
Rath, 59, 97
Raughan-i-zard, 21
Raushan Akhtar, 55
Raushanud-daulah Zafar Khan Bahadur, 118, 120, 141
Raya, 21, 102
Reeda, 127
Rayaha-i-dihi, 8
Ring, 150
Ring (jewelled), 120
Risalat, 59
Rizya Raya, 126
Robes, 69, 108, 109, 122-125, 130, 132, 133
Robber (s), 21, 150, 151
Robing Chamber, 133
Rocket, 106
Rocket Tripot, 141
Roghan, 88
Rohilla, 138
Ropes, 16
Royal Army, 105
Royal Artillery, 103
Royal Command, 104
Royal Court, 73, 110
Royal Majesty, 36
Royal Treasury, 93, 94, 97
Rubies, 119
Ruknud-daulah, 27, 44, 55
Rupa, 19, 20, 26

Sacred Majesty, 113
Sadarpur, 126, 127
Saddles, 27
Saddle Cloth, 87
Sadi Shirazi, 17

Sadila, 101
Sadrus Sudur, 6, 120, 140
Saharanpur, 133
Sahasram, 2, 9
Sahifa, 54
Saiva, 80
Salim Shah Chisti, 53, 54
Salt, 12. 23
Sambha, 127, 128
Sambhal, 138
Sambia, 126, 127
Samsamud-daulah, 4, 5, 18, 28, 29, 116, 117, 119, 121, 123, 124, 126, 130, 133, 150
Samasud-daulat Khan-i-duran Amirul umara Bahadur, 141
Samsamud-daulah Khan-i-dawan Bahadur Mansur Jang, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 22, 27, 79, 84, 89, 90, 103, 104, 106, 108, 118, 150
Sanad, 67, 70
Sanakh, 22
Sangha, 127
Sarai, 141
Sansaris, 20
Sands, 6
Sarai Chatta, 79, 94, 98, 101
Saraswati, 56
Saravals, 19
Sardar, 8
Sardar-i-Barha, 55
Sardhon, 101
Sarhi Jhawa, 98
Sarhind, 15
Sarishta-davan, 5
Sarkar, 38, 46, 58, 60, 65, 69, 92, 101, 118, 126, 128
Sarkar-i-wala, 28, 30
Sarpech, 6, 27, 108, 123, 132
Sarpech-i-murassa, 32, 33, 41
Sarraf, 85
Satin (Green), 131
Satrasal, 117
Saudagran, 68
Sayyids, 2, 134
Sayyid Husain, 132
Sazdwal, 133
Sedan, 129
Seora, 80
Shah Abdul Ghafoor Darwesh, 120, 130
Shab baz, 130
Shahjahan, 79
Shahjahan II, 55
Shahjahanabad, 2, 3, 13, 14, 16, 18, 26, 27, 33, 36, 39, 55, 77, 88, 94, 100, 106, 109, 111, 112, 140, 151, 153
Shahjahanpur, 138, 143, 148
Shahjahani, 20, 49
Shahnama Munnawar Kalam, 154
Shamsud-daulah Bahadur Muthawwir Jang, 124
Shankar Rao, 118
Sharafud-daulah Bahadur, 134
Sharh, 34
Shawwal, 119, 126, 134
Sheath, 121
Sheikhzada (s), 153
Sheikh Lakhnawi, 103
Sheikh Sanaullah, 4
Sher Dahan, 49
Shergarh, 101, 102
Shield, 120
Shurafa, 126, 143
Shuqqa, 129
Sibia, 126
Sih Aspa, 2
Sikandarabad, 131
Silken Cloth, 131
Silver, 5, 27, 69, 131
Singha Gaur, 126, 127
Sipah Salar, 142
Sir Land, 151
Sita Ram, 94
Skulls, 16
Sky, 88, 93, 94
Snake, 81
Soldiers, 57, 87, 88, 135, 136, 140, 150
Solomon, 12, 18, 36, 101, 150

Sovereign, 113
Spices, 152
State, 2, 25, 26, 29, 31, 34, 35, 39, 48, 57, 66, 68, 84, 86-88, 90, 92, 96, 98, 101, 110, 139, 142-144, 147, 150, 152
Suba (s), 2, 3, 7, 13, 15, 21, 26, 29, 33, 36-38, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 56-58, 60, 61, 66, 71, 87, 88-91, 92, 94, 101, 110, 111, 114, 120, 126, 128, 132, 133, 134, 137-139, 141, 143, 147, 148, 149, 151
Subadar, 3, 54, 116, 125, 141
Subadarı, 45, 116, 134, 137, 143
Subajat, 13, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74
Sugar, 23
Sukha, 126
Sultan (s), 55, 107, 108, 151
Sultan Ibrahım, 97, 98
Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim, 100, 107, 108, 111, 112
Sun, 72, 145
Superıntendent of Artıllery, 78
Supreme Master, 1
Surat, 134
Suwar, 8, 15, 19, 20, 42, 45, 46, 56, 57, 61, 63, 82-85, 89, 90, 97, 98, 102, 115, 123, 129, 137, 141, 144, 153
Suwar du aspa, 2
Suwar Mansabdar-ı-barawardı, 15
Sweat-meat, 10
Swords, 17, 75, 82, 87, 89, 108, 110, 116, 125, 131, 139, 153

Taalluqa, 19, 88
Taalluqa-ı-Zamındarı, 19
Tajganj, 79
Talab, 5, 151
Tamasha, 152
Tankas, 22, 119
Tankhwah Jagırs, 151
Tashıh Khana (Rosary Chapel), 130
Taura, 77
Ten soldıers (Dah Nafar qual), 132
Tent, 60, 83
Thanadars, 144
Than, 150
Than Sıngh, 125
Throne, 123
Thun, 19, 23, 24, 26
Tıger (s), 11, 126, 152
Tiger-mouth, 49
Toda Bhım, 81, 85, 93
Topkhana, 78
Trays, 60, 150
Treasury, 44, 47
Trees, 127
Tuesdays, 4
Tugh, 45
Tuman, 107
Tumblers, 6
Turan, 150
Turanı Mughal, 9, 10, 81, 141
Turban, 6, 41, 101, 108, 109, 120, 121, 123, 123, 124, 132
Turra-ı-gul-ha, 121

Udıt Sıngh (Raja), 149
Ulafa, 69, 97
Umbrella. 44, 47
Umdaha, 7
Umdahaı, 8
Umdatul-mulk, 23, 26, 35, 66
Ummal, 144

Vagabonds, 16, 83, 87, 110
Vegetable, 120
Vegetable seller, 8, 120
Vıjay Sıngh, 122

Wakıls, 58, 61, 62, 125
Walashahı, 3, 19, 34, 43, 45, 97, 106, 130
Walshahi Mansabdar, 90
Walashıdan, 19
Wardrobe, 133
Warnors, 110
Watchman, 130
Watan, 22, 39
Water, 88
Water Bags, 20

Waqai, 4-6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 18, 24-27, 29-33, 36-40, 42-47, 49, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 68, 69, 74, 75, 77-79, 81, 86, 89, 90, 94, 96, 98, 101-103, 106-109, 112, 117, 118, 119, 121-128, 131, 141, 146, 149-151, 153
Waqa-i-nawis, 133
Waqai-nigar, 115, 133, 141
Wazir, 84, 113, 115, 144
Wazirul-mulk, 108, 109, 115
Window (Jharokha), 126
Wilayati, 131
Wine-brewer, 10
Wizarat, 2, 30-32, 46, 84, 109, 116, 150

Yamini Sarpech (head-dress), 122
Yaminu-d-daulah, 2, 3, 150
Yaqub, 119
Yar-i-wafadar, 2
Yaumia, 113, 114
Your Excellency, 62
Your Highness, 24, 25, 63, 68, 73, 76, 77, 87, 128, 142-144
Your Majesty, 36, 37, 41, 71, 72, 75, 88, 89, 91-95, 99, 100, 113, 114, 145, 146, 148
Your Majesty (Imperial), 145

Zafar Jang Sipah Salar, 2
Zamindar, 4, 11, 21, 26, 33, 42, 53, 54, 58, 63, 70, 103, 116, 117, 122, 126, 127, 128, 131, 134, 136, 138, 141, 142, 145. 146, 149
Zamindari, 19, 22, 88, 113, 138, 139
Zar, 129, 136, 138, 148
Zar-i-naqul, 85
Zat, 15, 20, 45, 56, 59, 61, 63, 82-85, 90, 97, 98, 102, 115, 120, 123, 137, 141, 144, 153
Zauj, 121
Zijah Nizamul-mulk, 150
Zuk-qada, 130, 154
Zulhijja, 81, 85-87, 129, 139
Zul-qada-'e' Mubarak, 130
Zul-qaran, 136, 137, 143
Zumnaar-dar, 46
Zumurrud, 120